

السنة الثامنة والثمانون

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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Algeria	500 Dr.	Iran	135 Rial	Nigeria	100 K.
Australia	15 S.	Israel	15 N.S.	Norway	4.50 N.K.
Bahamas	0.600 Dm	Italy	800 Lire	Oman	0.650 Rb.
Belgium	20 B.	Japan	100 Yen	Paraguay	40 P.
Canada	C.S. 1.10	Kuwait	1.00 D.	Peru	0.05 N.
Ceylon	400 Mls.	Labrador	0.50 P.	South Africa	5.50 Rb.
Denmark	5.50 Dkr.	Lebanon	0.332 L.	Sri Lanka	0.05 S.R.
Egypt	1.00 P.	Lithuania	0.020 Lt.	Sudan	0.05 S.S.
France	5 F.	Malaysia	0.05 M.	Switzerland	1.80 S.F.
Germany	4.50 M.	Mexico	0.05 M.	Taiwan	0.025 Dn.
Greece	400 Dm.	Moldavia	0.05 M.	Thailand	0.05 B.
Great Britain	30 P.	Morocco	5.00 Dm.	U.S.A.	0.05 Dn.
India	20 R.	Netherlands	2.25 Fl.	Venezuela	0.05 B.

THE WEATHER — PARIS: Thursday, cloudy. Temp. 13-19 (55-66). LONDON: Thursday, cloudy with showers. Temp. 13-19 (55-66). CHAMBERLAIN: Smooth to moderate. Temp. 13-19 (55-66). FRANKFURT: Thursday, overcast. Temp. 11-18 (52-64). NEW YORK: Thursday, showers. Temp. 59-71 (81-70).

ADDITIONAL WEATHER DATA — PAGE 12

No. 30,596

LONDON, THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1981

Established 1887

## One Year in Poland: Meat Strikes Set Off A 'Quiet Revolution'

By Michael Dobbs  
*Washington Post Service*

WARSAW — Like all great revolutions in history, it took just a tiny spark to set alight a keg of gunpowder.

On July 1, 1980, the Polish government raised the price of higher quality meat. Across the country, the decision triggered scattered strikes, which eventually developed into a nationwide reform movement. A year later, Poland changed out of all recognition and the results are being felt throughout the Communist world beyond.

The first anniversary of that fateful price increase has gone virtually unnoticed here as Poland

### NEWS ANALYSIS

A calm time of hope and alienation in Poland. Insights, Page 6.

spares for an extraordinary process of the ruling Communist Party in two weeks. But it provides a rare opportunity to look back at the origins of Poland's quiet revolution and sum up what has happened.

In the space of a year, Poland's become the first Communist country to cede representation of a working class to genuinely independent trade unions. Freedom of speech is virtually unlimited and, while censorship is still in effect, the news media have become much more lively and interesting. The Communist Party remains political power, but knows it can only govern with the consent of society.

On the other hand, Poland's economic crisis has deepened. Rationing has been introduced and

### Gromyko Polish Trip Expected for Today

*The Associated Press*

MOSCOW — Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko was to fly to Warsaw on Thursday for talks with Polish leaders, former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, in a meeting with Soviet officials, disclosed late Wednesday.

Mr. Gromyko's visit is to come two weeks before a special Polish Communist Party congress called to discuss major reforms in the country. Tass had announced Mr. Gromyko's impending "friendly" visit last Sunday, but did not specify a date or reason for the trip.



OFFICIAL WELCOME — West German President Karl Carstens, left, greeted Arthur F. Burns when the new U.S. ambassador to Bonn presented his credentials on Tuesday. Mr. Burns, 77, was chairman of the Federal Reserve board.

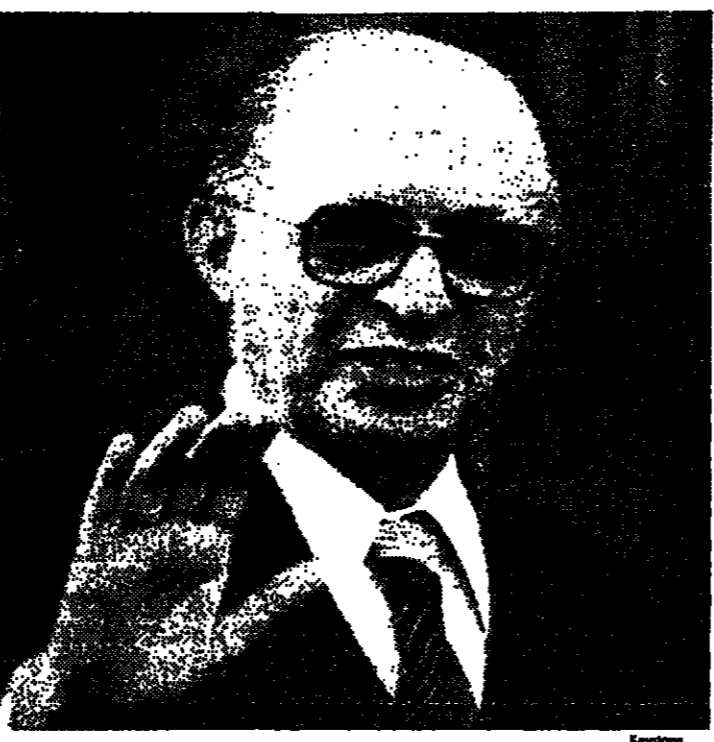
## Moscow Reasserts Firm Stand on Afghan Withdrawal

By Kevin Kloze  
*Washington Post Service*

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union's requirements for withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan remain centered on regional guarantees against alleged outside aggression there and on assurances of Soviet border security, top Kremlin officials Wednesday told former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt.

As outlined by Mr. Brandt's spokesman, the Kremlin's position is identical to position taken in May, 1980, by the Baharak 'armal government, which remains in power in Kabul on the strength of about 85,000 Soviet troops who are battling Moslem insurgents.

Tass, meanwhile, in a Washington dispatch, said the European Economic Community's latest ini-



Menachem Begin



Shimon Peres

## U.S. Strongly Rejects Criticism By OAU of S. African Contacts

By John M. Goshko  
*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration, in an unusually strong rebuff to African charges that the United States is in "collusion with the South African racists," has said that the accusations are "serious distortions" of U.S. policy and "unhelpful contributions" to the settlement of racial conflicts in southern Africa.

In a statement Tuesday read by State Department spokesman Dean Fischer, the administration officially objected to a resolution adopted unanimously Saturday by the 50 member states of the Organization of African Unity. The resolution charged that the United States was conspiring with South Africa to circumvent United Nations efforts to achieve independence for Namibia (South-West Africa).

"Deep Regret"

The statement also expressed U.S. displeasure at indications that Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi, whom the administration regards as a major inciter of international terrorism, could be elected chairman of the OAU next year. It said Libya's record of terrorism and aggression against its neighbors "hardly qualify it to be the spokesman for Africa to the world."

The statement noted that the OAU will hold its 1982 meeting in Libya and that traditionally the host head of government becomes OAU chairman for the ensuing year.

It said that happens, the statement added, "we would look upon it with deep regret... Libya's support for international terrorism, its intervention in the affairs of neighboring states (including sending troops into Chad), and its assassination campaign against Libyan

## Begin Tries to Form Coalition Despite Apparent Vote Deficit

By William Claiborne  
*Washington Post Service*

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Menachem Begin on Wednesday started trying to form a coalition government around his ruling Likud Party to overcome the slight electoral deficit suffered in Tuesday's parliamentary elections.

Despite an expected attempt by opposition Labor Party leader Shimon Peres to form his own coalition, Mr. Begin appeared to be in the best position to put together a thin majority of 63 seats in the 120-member Knesset and form a new government, albeit a weak one that could collapse within a few months.

Mr. Begin on Wednesday night won the agreement of the National Religious Party to join a new coalition government, Reuters reported.

After meeting NRP leader Yosef Burg, Mr. Begin told reporters he would be able to announce the formation of a coalition by early next week.

Mr. Burg said the alliance between the Likud Party and the NRP, which ruled Israel for the past four years, should continue.

"There is reason to believe that the existing framework of a coalition between the religious parties and Mr. Begin's party will continue to exist," he said. "I suggest we do not waste time as the people want a stable government and want it quickly."

Based on projections Wednesday from about half the 1.9 million votes cast in Israel's national election, the Labor Party appeared to have won 49 seats in the Knesset, with the Likud winning 48. Official tabulations of the paper ballots will not be completed for several days, election officials said.

The pivotal religious parties — the Agudat Israel Party and the National Religious Party — appeared to have won five and six seats, respectively.

Coupled with Religious Affairs Minister Abaron Abuhateira's three seats from the Tami party, the religious party seats in the

Knesset would be enough to return the Likud to power.

If Mr. Begin makes the coalition agreements that he has indicated he will, the religious parties, which had their poorest showing in years, would be in a position to exert unprecedented influence on such issues as Orthodox-orientated social legislation and increased Jewish settlement in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Doubts Expressed

A number of political observers said they doubted that the Likud would be able to withstand the political pressures from within for very long and predicted that another election may be necessary in six months or less.

Former Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir said: "I served in a government which had the backing of 63 Knesset members, and it was very difficult to operate. A government backed by a majority of three, two or one is open to various pressures from groups within the government. It's not a stable situation."

Even some Labor Party campaign officials suggested that Mr. Peres would be wise to let Mr. Begin form a weak coalition. Mr. Be-

## U.S. to Deliver Six F-16s to Israelis As Scheduled Despite Raid on Iraq

WASHINGTON — The United States will go ahead with a scheduled shipment of six F-16 fighter-bombers to Israel July 17 despite its criticism of Israel's bombing of a nuclear reactor in Iraq, the White House said Wednesday.

President Reagan suspended the delivery to Israel of four F-16s, the type of aircraft used in the raid, shortly after the reactor was bombed June 7.

The deputy White House press secretary, Larry Speakes, said that the July shipment was not affected by the president's decision.

He said the first four F-16s would continue to be withheld pending the outcome of a study of Israel's use of U.S.-built planes in its raid. He said he did not know when the study would be completed.

When Mr. Reagan froze the June shipment, he ordered the study to determine if Israel had violated a 1952 agreement barring use of U.S.-supplied arms except in self-defense.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin said the attack was launched in self-defense because the Iraqi reactor would have produced nuclear bombs for use against Israel.



Demonstrators in the Western Sahara city of Al Aunah carried a portrait of Morocco's King Hassan II as a youth to show their support for the king after his announcement that Morocco was prepared to accept the Organization of African Unity's proposals for the disputed territory. The OAU called last week for a cease-fire and an internationally supervised referendum to resolve the dispute between Morocco and the Polisario guerrilla group over control of the Western Sahara.

## Hu Asks Old Enemies for United Effort To Back New Policies of China's Leaders

By Michael Weisskopf  
*Washington Post Service*

PEKING — Hu Yaobang asked for unity Wednesday in his first speech as China's Communist Party leader after months of bitter infighting and two days of the most dramatic political changes since Mao's death.

In an address marking the party's 60th anniversary and his second day as chairman, Mr. Hu appealed to his old leftist enemies to put aside grudges and unite behind the pragmatic policies that have guided the nation since Mao died in 1976.

"The best way for us to celebrate this grand festival, the party's birthday, is to learn from historical experience and thus unite and look forward, focusing our attention on unresolved problems," he told a rally at the Great Hall of the People. The conciliatory gesture came after months of splintering debate that ended this week with the party's decision to formally criticize the radical policies of its founder and first chairman, Mao, and replace his chosen successor, Hua Guofeng.

For Mr. Hu and party moderates, the nationally broadcast speech represented a public demonstration of the victory they have sought in internal political struggles for years. Party Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping, 76, the pragmatic leader who has worked

## INSIDE Irish Policy

In Dublin, 2,000 demonstrators chanted support for IRA hunger strikers, newly elected Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald vows to make an end to violence in Northern Ireland his top priority. Page 5.

## TOMORROW U.S. Optimism

Shaking off the national pessimism that affected the country in 1979 and 1980, the American public again thinks the United States will be better off in the future than it is now, the latest New York Times-CBS News Poll shows. A report in tomorrow's Trib.

## Algerian Party Disciplines 4

ALGIERS — Four senior members of Algeria's governing party have been suspended from its central committee, the Algerian press reported Wednesday. The reports said they were suspended after being questioned about a judicial inquiry, but no details were given.

Those involved were Ahmed Bencherif, Mohammed Tayebi Larbi, Mahmoud Guesmer and Mustapha Bouarfa. All but Mr. Bouarfa are former government ministers.

The suspensions followed a campaign that, according to a recent statement by Justice Minister Boualem Bakli, was designed to "get the law respected whatever the quality or the rank of those who break it."

Western diplomats here were reported by Reuters as saying the Soviet Union's fresh statement of its position was significant in view of Lord Carrington's imminent visit but cautioned against interpreting it as a change of stance by the Kremlin.

[Since the early stages of its intervention in Afghanistan, Moscow has said that it wants a political settlement but has made clear that only international aspects of the question are up for discussion, and not the legitimacy of the Afghan government.]

[The Soviet Union always has said that by "foreign interference" in Afghanistan it means all organized opposition to the Karmal government.]

### 6 Russians Killed

NEW DELHI (AP) — Six Soviet soldiers were shot in two separate attacks in the streets of Afghanistan's capital recently, Western diplomatic sources said Wednesday.

Two Russians were slain in front of the Soviet Embassy on June 22, one of the diplomatic sources said. He said one of the two assailants was captured by nearby troops.

PAGES 11 FOR MAIL CLASSIFICATION

YOUR CLASSIFIED OFFICE REPORTS

# Thatcher and Unions Head for Battle Over Size of Pay Increases

By Steven Rattner  
New York Times Service  
LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is facing confrontations with unions because of her efforts to reduce the size of wage increases in a new phase of the struggle to put the British economy in order.

A variety of government services have already been disrupted as a result. Tuesday, for example, five separate union actions by air traffic controllers caused delays in international flights of up to six hours, cancellation of many domestic departures and the over-crowding of Heathrow Airport's three terminals with thousands of angry travelers.

Still further discomfort is promised by civil servants in the form of a general strike, and similar threats have been issued by unions in private industry, as the Thatcher government's attention has turned in that direction.

Fearful that the progress already made in reducing inflation is threatened, Mrs. Thatcher and her advisers are determined to lean as hard as possible against wage increases and they maintain that their opposition to an incomes policy remains undiminished.

Some of those who blame the government for high unemployment should appreciate better the extent to which the fault lies not in government, but in themselves, Sir Geoffrey Howe, chancellor of the exchequer, said in a speech last week to the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce.

"My point is that high pay settlements have a lot to do with creating unemployment," he said.

The British government's new emphasis on raises has possible parallels in the United States. Just

as the Thatcher government did, President Reagan and his advisers have insisted that the U.S. government should take no position on wages, except for its own employees. Both Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Reagan argue that sound budgetary, monetary and regulatory policies are sufficient to lower inflationary expectations.

A spokesman for Sir Geoffrey said: "He's been extremely careful to avoid a specific figure. What he's rightly saying are things to help people adjust their attitude to pay bargaining."

The more longstanding dispute is with unions in the public sector, over whether they should receive more than a 7 percent increase. Despite the disruptions, which have led to unrenewed passports and several billion pounds of extra government borrowing, Mrs. Thatcher has not wavered, offering only to study civil service pay but with no effect on current negotiations.

As for unions in the private sector, they are about to begin the annual round of wage negotiations, which runs until early fall. Despite the government's success over the last year in reducing the rate of inflation and of pay increases to single-digit levels, Mrs. Thatcher's aides are worried.

For one thing, the pound's recent decline will mean higher prices, particularly for imports, while excise taxes imposed in March have already raised price indexes. For another, price increases have recently begun to outstrip wages, putting pressure on unions to win larger increases. The National Union of Mineworkers has talked of a raise of more than 20 percent.

The talk from Downing Street has met an angry reaction from unions. David Bassett, chairman of the economic committee of the Trades Union Congress, said Tuesday that it was economic nonsense to suggest that lack of demand could be cured by a cut in living standards.

But politically, pay is another area in which Mrs. Thatcher will be aided by disarray among the opposition. Two wings of the Labor Party, split over many issues, have just begun a heated public debate over whether an incomes policy is appropriate.

The initiative by Sir Geoffrey on pay is being coordinated with a similar campaign by the Confederation of British Industry, the country's principal industrial spokesman. The confederation contained Sunday that without smaller wage settlements, unemployment would continue climbing, to more than 3.5 million.



Members of the Iranian parliament who survived the Tehran explosion fatal to more than 70 persons, including 27 deputies, on Sunday night attend a meeting of the Majlis in wheelchairs.

## 50 Iranian Guerrillas Seized in a Plot On Parliament, New Party Leader Says

By Phil Davison  
Reuters

TEHRAN — Fifty leftist guerrillas who planned to destroy the Majlis building have been arrested, the new leader of Iran's dominant Islamic Republican Party said Wednesday.

Newspapers said the guerrillas from the Mujahaddin (People's Crusaders) group were arrested Tuesday night after a gun battle with revolutionary guards in which a guerrilla was killed and three were wounded.

Hojatoleslam Mohammad Javad Bahonar, the new leader of the Islamic Republican Party, said he believed all opposition groups had joined in a plot involving the United States to attack the revolution.

Iran's Islamic leaders have long charged that the Mujahaddin, which regards Islam as an egalitarian force sharing much with Socialism, is in league with U.S. agents.

Hojatoleslam Bahonar, 47,

bearded and wearing the black turban that denotes a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, said the 50 arrested guerrillas had been planning to destroy Iran's house of parliament.

The party leader said the 50 belonged to the same organization that was involved in Sunday's bombing of party headquarters here. It was the first press conference since Hojatoleslam Bahonar — the title ranks below that of an ayatollah — was appointed to succeed Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti, who was killed in the bomb attack.

Deputies from the Majlis, mourning 27 of their colleagues among more than 70 victims of the bomb attack, wept and chanted "death to America" during an emotional session, their first since the bombing. Three deputies wounded in the blast were wheeled into the chamber in their hospital beds to make up a quorum.

Hojatoleslam Bahonar's speech indicated he may be just as hard-line as his predecessor. Referring to the bombing, he said: "The root of this crime goes back to the great Satan, American imperialism. It was carried out by its agents..."

Then, apparently rejecting peace efforts in the war with Iraq, he declared: "Our position is to continue the war decisively."

Answering questions, he said he could not say that former President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr had played a role in the bombing. "But I can say all movements had shares in this incident."

He said 72 persons had died in the bomb blast and not 74 as reported in the official media. There had been some confusion over various lists, he said.

He also revealed that the cabinet had decided to hold elections to replace the 27 dead deputies on the same day as scheduled elections for a president to replace Mr. Bani-Sadr. These are due on July 24 but may be postponed for up to a week, he said.

Another group of guerrillas, estimated at 200 well-armed and uniformed men, launched a strong attack on La Union Saturday evening and engaged the Salvadoran military in combat for 24 hours.

[Laborers near San Salvador have found the bodies of 15 men who reportedly were taken from their homes in a midnight raid, shot and killed and buried in a garbage dump in an attempt to cover up the massacre. United Press International reported.]

[Relative] said Tuesday that gunmen dragged the victims from their homes at midnight Sunday in San Salvador's Soyapango suburb — the same working-class neighborhood where 23 persons were murdered in April, allegedly by government security forces.]

The attack on La Union, the strongest attack on a major town since January's "general offensive," raised the question of safety for the 41 U.S. military advisers in El Salvador.

Another question: When the first group of trainees arrived Jan. 17, it was emphasized that they would not be allowed near "combat zones." The question of what would happen if an area the advisers were working in became a combat zone apparently never was asked.

Reporters who visited La Union on Monday, after most sniper fire had died down, said evidence showed that the fighting had been intense. Many buildings in the center of the town were riddled with bullet holes and the streets were strewn with spent ammunition.

U.S. Embassy sources called the La Union raid a relatively minor event. "We at no point felt our trainees were in any danger," an embassy official said. "We did not consider it necessary to pull them out."

The number of U.S. military trainers here has decreased since March when U.S. sources said 56 were to be stationed here. The embassy said the number would decrease again next month when a 14-member team of helicopter maintenance instructors is to be sent home.

The tribunal, set up under the Jan. 19 Algiers settlement of the 14-month hostage crisis, is to review claims worth an estimated \$3 billion to \$4 billion. Almost all the cases were brought by U.S. companies saying their property was expropriated, contracts were broken or debts not paid.

Along with Justice Gunnar Lagergren of Sweden, the president of the tribunal, the third-party arbitrators are Justice Nils Mangard also of Sweden and Justice Pierre Bellet of France.

The Iranian arbitrators are Mahmoud M. Kashani, Seyyed Hossein Enayati and Shafiq Shafieci. The U.S. arbitrators are Howard M. Holtzmann, George H. Aldrich and Richard M. Mosk.

## Begin Trying for Coalition Despite Apparent Deficit

(Continued from Page 1) mine which are capable of forming a coalition.

Mr. Navon will then ask the leader of one party to attempt to form a government. The assumption is that he will ask the largest party because it could be expected to have the best chance of winning an initial parliamentary vote of confidence. But there is nothing in the law to keep him from going to another party.

The potential coalition leader is then given 21 days to form a government, with a 21-day extension possible. If the party leader fails to form a government, the president can go to another party and ask it to try. In the event of repeated failures, a new election can be called.

It remained unclear Wednesday night whether Mr. Navon would go first to Labor, which is his own party, to give it a chance to form a government, or to the Likud, because of its national religious party coalition partners.

Reports on Missiles  
BEIRUT (UPI) — The rightist Phalangist radio said Wednesday that Syria had removed most of its

SAM-6 missiles from Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, but witnesses reported that at least five launchers remained.

The anti-aircraft missiles have been at the center of the latest crisis between Israel and Syria. In Tel Aviv, Israeli military officials also said they had no confirmation of any change in the status of Syria's Soviet-made SAM-6 missiles in the Bekaa Valley.

The Phalangist Voice, of Lebanon radio said the Syrians had removed "most of the missiles" but did not report when the missiles were removed or how many positions remained.

Reporters who were in the Bekaa Valley, however, saw five SAM-6 launchers, each armed with three of the radar controlled missiles. Some of the missiles had been moved from their previous positions.

Seat Belt Law for Swiss  
BERN — The wearing of seat belts by drivers and front seat passengers became compulsory in Switzerland on Wednesday, following a national vote last November.

## School and Home Pressures Suspected In Suicides Among Hong Kong Children

By Ronnie Wei  
The Associated Press

HONG KONG — Clutching a Bible, 12-year-old Yung Wai-kei hanged himself from a 24-story building on June 4.

A month earlier, two other girls — Kwan Wai-chee, 13, and Fung Sheung-kun, 14 — bound their hands together with rope and leaped to their deaths from the roof of a 26-story apartment complex. Two Bibles were found nearby.

Police said the two girls had left a suicide note, explaining they had killed themselves because they could no longer cope with pressure from their school and families.

The three were the latest victims of what some social workers and teachers say is mounting pressure from increasingly keen scholastic competition, high parental expectations and changing family patterns.

Calls Increase  
Vanda Scott of the Hong Kong Samaritan Benefactors said the incidence of suicide among youths in Hong Kong is on the rise.

She said that among 11,000 telephone calls for help and advice the organization received last year, 18 percent came from people aged 10

to 19, compared with 4 percent in the previous year.

"We often received calls from young children who cried for help because they couldn't keep up with their schoolwork, and just as often we received calls from desperate mothers who wanted to know how to make their children work harder," she said.

As schools set higher academic standards, she said, parents demand more from their children. "Many Chinese families just can't accept failures [of their children]," Mrs. Scott said.

Family Eroded  
In addition, she said, Western influence is eroding the traditionally tight-knit Chinese family structure. She said the number of divorces among Chinese couples has increased, sometimes resulting in the neglect of children.

Official statistics showed the number of suicides among youths under 20 jumped from 21 in 1979 to 30 in 1980. The South China Morning Post reported that six students killed themselves between May 1 and June 4 of this year.

The Rev. John Collins, a Jesuit priest and social worker, blamed the deaths mainly on Hong Kong's school system.

## Hu Seeking China Unity

(Continued from Page 1)

Naturally, judgments differ. Contacted in his Warsaw office, Mr. Burchard said he thought the rise of Solidarity to a 10-million strong union was of particular significance. He also mentioned that there was no room for much greater individual initiative. The legal and political constraints of the past had been removed.

For others, the biggest change in Poland over the last year has been the psychological one. Even 12 months ago, the workers were still mistrustful of each other and afraid of the authorities. Today they feel confident and strong. It is the old guard Communist officials, aware that they are losing their power and their privileges, who feel afraid.

An important element in this is that Poland is probably a more united nation today than at any time in its 1,000-year history. With the exception of a few hard-lineers who harbor after the old system and a few extreme nationalists, Poles agreed on the broad outlines of a political program. Poland will remain a member of the Soviet bloc and the (reformed) Communist Party will remain in power.

Song of Feeling  
But internally, the Poles say, their country must be allowed to find its own way.

This is a recurring theme of Polish history and one summed up in an unashamedly patriotic song written by a popular cabaret star, Jan Pietrzak, entitled "Let Poland Be Poland." The words, which are sung by young and old, are:

From the depth of our history, from our distant lands, from the everlasting forests, mountains, and plains, from our origins, our beginning... the chain of our existence.

Members of the group also allegedly planned attacks on the United Nations headquarters in Beirut and U.S. military installations in West Germany, according to a spokesman for the Bavarian police.

The leader of the banned group, Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, 43, and Franziska Birkmann, 34, were arrested two weeks ago in an investigation into ultra-rightist activity, officials said at the time.

Mr. Hoffmann's 400-member group was banned in January, 1980, after police raided his chalet outside the Bavarian city and confiscated weapons, Nazi-type uniforms and Nazi paraphernalia.

## 3 Advisers Safe in Raid In Salvador

Fighting Subsides After Rebel Attack

Washington Post Service

SAN SALVADOR — Fighting has ended in the seaport of La Union, where three U.S. military advisers were caught in a guerrilla raid during the weekend, U.S. and Salvadoran sources have reported.

A U.S. Embassy official said Tuesday that the advisers, based at a naval school in La Union, continued their training duties and were not injured in the fighting. They were the first U.S. advisers known to have been at the scene of combat between the Salvadoran military and guerrillas fighting to overthrow the U.S.-supported government.

A spokesman for the Salvadoran Defense Ministry reported that guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front withdrew from the port late Sunday afternoon. The U.S. Embassy reported that the guerrillas left a small group of snipers behind to cover the retreat of their column.

24-Hour Fighting  
A contingent of guerrillas, estimated at 200 well-armed and uniformed men, launched a strong attack on La Union Saturday evening and engaged the Salvadoran military in combat for 24 hours.

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## WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

### Floods, Mud Slides Kill 120 in Philippines

United Press International  
MANILA — A tropical storm smashed into the populous Philippine midsection Wednesday, touching off flash floods and mud slides that killed at least 120 people in the coconut-producing Albay Province southeast of here.

The rains sent mud slides down the picturesque Mahon volcano. Boulder and tons of mud rolled over thatched huts and rice fields in the towns of Daraga and Legaspi.

Visiting U.S. Vice President Bush was forced to abruptly call off a visit to the Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base and fly home early because of the storm.

### Haig to Confer on Caribbean Economic Plan

New York Times Service  
WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. will confer with the foreign ministers of Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela on Tuesday in the Bahamas to discuss a large-scale economic plan for the Caribbean area being developed by the Reagan administration.

The United States would like to facilitate trade and investment in the region with the help of other developed nations in the hemisphere. The Nassau meeting was described as preliminary to further sessions in the fall.

The State Department said Tuesday that Mr. Haig will fly to New York after the meeting at Nassau to lead the U.S. delegation to the United Nations conference on Cambodia on July 13-14.

### Youth Faces Trial for Firing Blanks at Queen

Reuters  
LONDON — The British teen-ager accused of discharging a revolver near Queen Elizabeth II was committed for trial Wednesday in the Old Bailey Central Criminal Court.

Marcus Simba-Jones, 17, was charged under the 1842 Treason Act in connection with an incident in London on June 13 when blank shots were fired near the queen as she was riding her horse to a military ceremony. Mr. Sarjeant faces a possible sentence of seven years in prison.

[Meanwhile, Ronald Zen, originally from Brooklyn, N.Y., who is said to believe he is Jesus Christ reincarnated, pleaded guilty Wednesday to sending a hoax bomb to Queen Elizabeth and threatening to kill Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer on their July 29 wedding day. The Associated Press reported. He is to undergo three weeks of psychiatric tests.]

### Poland, Year Later, Keeps Alive Spark of Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)  
wave was dying out, at others it would suddenly pick up again. Then, on Aug. 14, came the explosion when the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk went on strike — and the unrest spread along the Baltic coast.

The heat of the explosion changed the nature of the workers' demands. At first the strikers concentrated on their economic grievances, and large pay increases were sufficient to get the back to work. Then, remembering the repression that had followed similar protests in the past, they began demanding permanent guarantees that these things would be different. They insisted on being allowed to form independent trade unions.

Gradually political issues were raised. The 21 demands formulated by the Gdansk shipyard workers included freedom for all political prisoners, the relaxation of censorship, and the abolition of special privileges for Communist Party officials and the security services. Eventually the "Solidarity" trade union became a national movement for the renovation of an entire inefficient system.

The strikes toppled a Communist Party leader, Edward Gierok, and made a new national hero out of an unemployed electrician and unioning dissident, Lech Walesa. Two premiers and thousands of lower level Communist officials were swept away during the initial struggle for power between Solidarity and the authorities.

Movement Grows  
The general strike along the coast triggered similar unrest in the industrial region of Silesia in the south. The workers were joined by intellectuals, farmers, students, journalists, and eventually rank-and-file Communist Party members themselves.

What has it all meant and where is it leading?  
Naturally, judgments differ. Contacted in his Warsaw office, Mr. Burchard said he thought the rise of Solidarity to a 10-million strong union was of particular significance. He also mentioned that there was no room for much greater individual initiative. The legal and political constraints of the past had been removed.

For others, the biggest change in Poland over the last year has been the psychological one. Even 12 months ago, the workers were still mistrustful of each other and afraid of the authorities. Today they feel confident and strong. It is the old guard Communist officials, aware that they are losing their power and their privileges, who feel afraid.

An important element in this is that Poland is probably a more united nation today than at any time in its 1,000-year history. With the exception of a few hard-lineers who harbor after the old system and a few extreme nationalists, Poles agreed on the broad outlines of a political program. Poland will remain a member of the Soviet bloc and the (reformed) Communist Party will remain in power.

Song of Feeling  
But internally, the Poles say, their country must be allowed to find its own way.

This is a recurring theme of Polish history and one summed up in an unashamedly patriotic song written by a popular cabaret star, Jan Pietrzak, entitled "Let Poland Be Poland." The words, which are sung by young and old, are:

From the depth of our history, from our distant lands, from the everlasting forests, mountains, and plains, from our origins, our beginning... the chain of our existence.

Members of the group also allegedly planned attacks on the United Nations headquarters in Beirut and U.S. military installations in West Germany, according to a spokesman for the Bavarian police.

The leader of the banned group, Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, 43, and Franziska Birkmann, 34, were arrested two weeks ago in an investigation into ultra-rightist activity, officials said at the time.

Mr. Hoffmann's 400-member group was banned in January, 1980, after police raided his chalet outside the Bavarian city and confiscated weapons, Nazi-type uniforms and Nazi paraphernalia.

Stockholm — Seismic signals corresponding to a weak nuclear explosion in hard rock at Semipalatinsk in the Soviet Union were recorded Wednesday, the military observatory of Hagfors reported. The explosion corresponded to a magnitude of 5.4 on the Richter scale and took place at 0157 GMT. The observatory said.

Swedes Note Soviet Blast  
The World Wildlife Fund and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources made their call at the International Whaling Commission's annual meeting in Tokyo July 20-25.

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# Australia Hesitant To Participate in Sinai Peace Force

By Lou Cannon  
Washington Post Service  
WASHINGTON — The administration has tried without immediate success to convince visiting Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser that his country should participate in a multinational peacekeeping force in the Sinai.

Australian participation in this force was the major unresolved issue after two hours of talks Tuesday between President Reagan and Mr. Fraser. The meeting, however, was described by both sides as exceptionally friendly.

A senior White House official said the United States recognized that the issue was "a sensitive and delicate one" for Australia, which is trying to preserve and expand trade relations with Arab countries, but that he expected that Australia ultimately would contribute to the 2,500-member force.

**Time Needed**  
Participation requires approval by the Australian Cabinet, and Mr. Fraser had made it clear in advance that he would not make a commitment while in Washington.

However, U.S. officials hope for an Australian decision "as soon as possible," an administration official said. They believe that Australian participation will encourage New Zealand and other countries to send troops for the force, which will police the Sinai after the scheduled withdrawal of Israel next spring.

Mr. Fraser said Wednesday that Mr. Reagan understands that Australia needs some time "to sort out" whether it will join the Sinai force, United Press International reported.

"We recognize there are powerful arguments for the peace process to proceed in the Middle East," Mr. Fraser told NBC television. But, he added, "we're just going to have to be given a little time — and the president understands it — to sort out our own minds finally."

The force is being organized by the United States in keeping with a commitment made by former President Jimmy Carter at the time of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. The United States is expected to provide about half of the force.

Because of the ideological compatibility between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Fraser and the tradition of

friendship between the two countries, there are high expectations here that Mr. Fraser ultimately will lead Australia into supplying at least a token contingent for the force.

**Trade Concerns**  
Canberra is concerned that Arab countries opposing the Israeli-Egyptian treaty will refuse to buy Australian wheat and wool. Some Australians also want to limit any participation in overseas military forces to those organized by the United Nations.

Mr. Fraser was warmly welcomed by Mr. Reagan at the White House. "America is proud to have such an ally in a world where freedom and democracy are constantly challenged," Mr. Reagan said.

Mr. Fraser responded similarly, saying the two countries "share a commitment to the values of freedom and democracy."

"There are so many things that will not be done unless the United States is prepared to do them," Mr. Fraser said. "There is so much that only the world's greatest democracy can do."

**Antitrust Issue**  
Later, after a 45-minute private conversation, Mr. Fraser praised Mr. Reagan's commitment to relieving the effect of U.S. antitrust laws on companies doing business in Australia, which says that the U.S. laws should not operate outside the United States.

An antitrust suit launched by Westinghouse in the United States alleged that foreign companies, including four from Australia, participated in a cartel to drive up world uranium prices. The companies settled out of court earlier this year.

Mr. Reagan told Mr. Fraser that Attorney General William French Smith would discuss the issue with Australian officials in an attempt to solve the problem.

Last month Mr. Fraser's government introduced legislation that would enable Australian companies to retaliate against U.S. antitrust judgments by recovering assets located outside the United States of the U.S. firm involved.



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, center, being greeted by President Reagan and his wife, Nancy. The black-tie occasion was a state dinner Tuesday at the White House for the Australian leader.

# Gulf Politics Are More Challenging to U.S. Than Soviet Action in the Area, Study Says

By Michael Getler  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Challenges to U.S. interests in the Middle East and southwest Asia are more likely to arise from political factors, such as the internal stability of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and the course of Arab-Israeli relations, than from a direct military challenge by the Soviet Union, according to a report released Wednesday by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

"Nonetheless, judgments by leaders in the Persian Gulf about the relative Soviet-American military balance and who is and is not willing to use force will have an important bearing on their behavior," the report says. "In other words, the problem (for U.S. foreign policy) goes beyond deterring an actual Soviet attack ... to the far more complicated task of neutralizing the political effects of Soviet military power in the area."

The 194-page Carnegie report was produced by a panel of retired military leaders, former government national security specialists, businessmen, scientists, educators and journalists.

Although the panel's most time-

ly points deal with the Gulf, the report also says:

"There are serious problems in estimating Soviet defense costs. Spending comparisons [with the U.S.] are of limited value" and can "be very misleading." While such U.S. intelligence estimates are acceptable for showing general trends, the limitations of these comparisons are overlooked in political debate, and a more realistic assessment must focus on other factors.

Contrary to a view frequently expressed, the NATO forces in Europe "probably would fare acceptably well in defending against a

standing-start attack from the [Soviet-led] Warsaw Pact." But the allies would face "a considerably more difficult task" if an attack came after the Soviet bloc had even a short time to mobilize. Here, too, the problems for the West are mostly political. Would the NATO nations be able to act quickly enough to mobilize themselves, and would France, which is outside NATO's military command, join with the allies?

At sea, the Western navies "have more and better" capabilities than Moscow and its allies have, though the West also has a far tougher job in terms of keeping ocean supply lines open. But the big question is what should be the role, size and composition of the U.S. fleet.

The report says that to produce a Gulf strategy one question that needs to be addressed is whether to continue emphasizing the Soviet threat or give more priority to coping with the political and economic instabilities within the region.

In another finding that contradicts commonly held assessments, the panel found that there are so many uncertainties about the outcome of a Soviet-U.S. armed clash in the Gulf area that, with the exception of northern Iran, Moscow "could not count on a successful attack, let alone a swift or easy victory."

However, the report says that Moscow "likely would prevail" if the conflict were prolonged and the Russians were willing to commit forces from other theaters.

## Laker Granted Right To Fly Pacific Routes

United Press International

HONG KONG — Hong Kong has granted Britain's cut-rate Laker Airways permission to operate daily flights from Hong Kong to Tokyo, Honolulu, San Francisco and Los Angeles. It was not clear when Laker would begin flights.

The Hong Kong Air Transport Licensing Authority, acting Tuesday, also granted the colony's flag-carrier, Cathay Pacific Airways, the right to fly daily from Hong Kong to Tokyo, Seattle and Vancouver, British Columbia. Cathay, concerned that the entry of Laker would hurt its business, and Laker Airways competed for the right to fly across the Pacific at a licensing hearing last month.

## Study Suggests PR Blitz in U.S. To Dispel 'Bestial Arab' Image

The Associated Press

MANAMA, Bahrain — Arabs could improve their poor image in the United States by taking their case to the American people, according to a study commissioned by Qatar's Information Ministry.

The study complained that the average Westerner thinks of an Arab as "a backward and ignorant slave trader, a kidnapper of young girls, a tent dweller, a camel breeder with a flare for bloodshed."

It suggested that oil companies could participate in the public relations campaign. It also suggested that Arab bank deposits be spread around the United States. The study urged financial assistance to U.S. research institutes, hospitals and handicapped children's centers.

"These and many other efforts will leave indelible and favorable influence on the [American] people and erase from their minds the image of the bestial and bloodthirsty Arab," the study said.

The poor image of Arabs is not due to Jewish control of U.S. media, the study said, rejecting a claim frequently heard in the Arab world. The study contended that 80 percent of U.S. citizens are neither pro-Arab nor pro-Israel.

Qatar's researchers visited the United States, Canada and Western Europe to explore the image of Arabs and ways to improve that image. They proposed a \$2.6-million "Arab Foundation for International Relations" to be financed collectively by the Gulf states to improve the Arab image in the West. The proposed foundation would be headquartered in Washington, with branches in London and Paris.

The study has been submitted to the Arab League for endorsement, but its prospects for adoption are questionable.

## Law Scholars Assail Scope Of Agee Passport Ruling

By Fred Barbash  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court's ruling in the case of Philip Agee, a former agent of the CIA, has been attacked by many constitutional scholars and lawyers as a sweeping license potentially allowing the government to restrict the speech and travel of political dissidents, journalists or anybody else.

The court upheld the Carter administration's revocation of Mr. Agee's passport for his open effort to destroy the CIA by exposing the names of undercover operatives.

Had the court limited itself in its ruling Monday to Mr. Agee or situations comparable to his, critics said Tuesday that they would have had few objections. But they said that the court went far beyond what was necessary to back up that action.

In the process, said Harvard Law professor Laurence H. Tribe, the court "left a loaded gun aimed" at free speech and travel. The ruling "was a disastrous departure from doctrines protecting an open society," he said.

**'Breath-taking' Scope**  
"The sweep of the decision may be such as to encompass far more than errant CIA agents," said Floyd Abrams, a prominent lawyer in free speech cases. The scope is "breath-taking."

"It seems to me absolutely clear that under this opinion, if the Johnson or Nixon administrations had wanted to pull passports from reporters in Vietnam, this opinion would authorize it," said ACLU attorney Mark Lynch, who defended former CIA agent Frank Snepp last year.

"Or if some disarmament person makes a speaking tour through Europe, saying it's a bad thing to deploy nuclear weapons there, the secretary could say it's inciting opposition to NATO" policy and revoke the passport, Mr. Lynch said.

Robert Dalton, assistant State Department legal adviser, said that the government had no intention of using the ruling that way. He also said that the context of the opinion — Mr. Agee's specific transgressions — might implicitly limit its application. Jack Landau, of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, agreed with Mr. Dalton.

**No Explicit Limits**

But Mr. Dalton acknowledged that nothing in the opinion explicitly limited the government to the facts in the Agee case.

Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote for the court Monday that the secretary of state may deny a passport to anyone he determines may do "serious damage" to national security or U.S. foreign policy.

He did not define "serious damage," but left the definition to the secretary of state. He did not limit the application of the ruling to CIA agents, former CIA agents or anyone else.

And in one of the two or three passages that most alarmed the critics of the opinion, the chief justice suggested that government need not worry about claims that it is overstepping the bounds of the Constitution. When there is a "likelihood of serious damage to national security or foreign policy," Chief Justice Burger said, "these claims are without merit."

Mr. Tribe said that the ruling went well beyond any of the prior circumstances under which the court has allowed First Amendment restrictions, such as when there is an "imminent" or "clear and present" danger.

Instead, he said, "the mere fact that the intent of the speaker is to jeopardize American policy, which may be a fancy way of saying to 'change' American policy, is substituted" in the opinion.

# O'Neill to Keep Fighting Reagan Budget With Rearguard Actions Despite Defeats

By Francis X. Clines  
New York Times Service

HARWICH PORT, Mass. — Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the speaker of the House of Representatives, says he is hardly done fighting the battle of the budget, despite the severe defeat of last week, and is, in fact, planning at least two rearguard tactics to confront President Reagan again, possibly in renewed voting on the floor of the House.

The first is to hold committee hearings after the fact of last Friday's action as an unusual way of raising public awareness of the deeper cuts contained in the Republican package. The rush to a vote left no time for normal advance hearing.

"That was a bell of a way to legislate," said Rep. O'Neill, looking revived and hungry for politics again Monday after a weekend of golf here at his Cape Cod retreat. "Nobody knows what's in their bill. The public doesn't know. I'm sure the president doesn't know."

The second tactic is to use a special parliamentary device next month in the joint House-Senate bargaining conference, a device termed "waiving points of order," to try to overrule key parts of the Republican package and, if necessary, force more votes on the House floor over selected cuts.

**'Points of Order'**

"You can bet there's going to be points of order raised," Rep. O'Neill said. "Reagan's coalition slipped from 63 Democrats to 29 and he had to give tangible goods to get them. He'll slip a hell of a lot more farther before he's done."

The speaker's eagerness for more of the budget fight was in contrast with the grimness and silence with which he exited the House Friday night. Then, he appeared wounded in spirit and physically worn from absorbing two days of defeats and losing majority control to the president's coalition. Monday evening, however, he appeared fit and avid as he talked of Democratic plans to reverse the struggle.

"We'll be back," he said. "We were only a few votes away Friday."

After a similar loss on the first budget vote in May, Rep. O'Neill had been criticized by some members for what they saw as his laxity in maintaining party lines, although the complaints never reached the level of a serious organized threat to his leadership.

The cloakroom talk after Fri-

day's defeat was not of Democratic defections this time so much as of how highly Republican lines held. Rep. O'Neill feels they will weaken as they get closer to next year's elections, where he continues to predict the usual off-year gains for his party and an easier time, in the process, as speaker.

**Strategem Prepared**  
In the midst of the president's stunning victory, the speaker had quietly prepared the point-of-order strategem by having some of his main committee members actually sided with the president's bill on the final anticlimactic vote Friday, after Thursday's crucial vote on procedure. They thus became eligible for controlling positions in the budget conference with the Senate.

Rep. O'Neill insisted that his representatives would not be trying to scuttle the Republican program but only raising points in legitimate areas of actual differences and trying, for example, to find money for such curtailed programs as Meals on Wheels for old people.

## Carcinogenics Are Found To Permeate Safety Gloves

By Joanne Omang  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Cancer-causing industrial chemicals seep through most protective gloves within minutes and threaten the health of nearly 5 million workers, according to studies of the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health.

The findings in two recent studies, revealed Tuesday, have so alarmed institute officials that they held a meeting earlier this month with members of the protective-clothing industry. "They seemed very receptive, but also very reserved, waiting to see what we would do," said Dr. Jon R. May, special assistant for testing at the institute's Center for Disease Control. "We see the problem as very major, and the government at this time doesn't have the resources to do the job single-handedly."

One of the studies, done for the institute by Robert W. Weeks Jr. and M.J. McLeod of the Los Alamos Laboratory, tested 11 types of work gloves by soaking them in chemicals for varying periods. It found that all but one glove — the most expensive and least used — were readily permeated by a group of industrial solvents, cleaning fluids and fumigants called chlorinated ethanes. Only

four gloves lasted 20 minutes or more, while four others soaked through in less than three minutes. The chemicals have been found to cause cancer in laboratory animals.

**PCBs Also Tested**  
The same study checked the gloves' resistance to polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), a cancer-causing lubricant and heat-transfer fluid often found in old electrical transformers. All the gloves but one were soaked in less than three minutes, six of them in less than one minute.

The best glove material, called Viton, costs 10 to 14 times as much as the other types and is little used, Dr. May said.

"Protective garment material which is commercially available in the United States is, generally speaking, not satisfactory for worker protection," the study concluded.

The gloves tested were different kinds of rubber and latex material, including Teflon varieties, layered gloves and coated kinds of nylon, with and without inner-support material, the study said.

Dr. May said he knew of no studies directly linking chemical exposure through work gloves to any human illness "but we suspect there may well be problems."

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## After Israel's Elections

Menachem Begin, who stormed from behind in Israel's election campaign to overtake Shimon Peres with a display of politics that would bring a blush to the cheek of a hardened ward heeler, came within an ace of overplaying his hand. After pulling ahead of Mr. Peres by as many as a dozen seats, the incumbent prime minister saw his lead evaporate in the last week of the campaign. But because the Israeli political system is the way it is, because Israeli demographics are the way they are and because religion still plays a central role in Israeli politics, Mr. Begin will almost certainly succeed in forming the nation's next government.

Unfortunately, that does not appear to be a comforting prospect. Mr. Begin's achievement, along with President Sadat and former President Carter, in bringing off the Camp David accords, was monumental. But you can dine out for just so long on past triumphs. The Israeli prime minister continues to display a disturbing inflexibility on issues such as the future of the West Bank and settlement policy. At the same time he has behaved in a generally bellicose fashion, insulted European heads of state and manipulated the inflation-plagued Israeli economy to improve his chances of being re-elected. The nature of his campaign also helped to make this the bitterest and most violent political season in Israel's 33-year history.

It should not be forgotten, however, that a substantial number of voters switched from the rigid and emotional Mr. Begin to the more moderate and flexible Mr. Peres in the closing days of the campaign. Clearly, Israeli public opinion is not solidly behind the uncompromising attitudes that make it difficult to envision an eventual settlement of the Palestinian problem. It is worth noting that troublemakers such as Rabbi Meir Kahane

and Samuel Flatto-Sharon were not elected to the Knesset, and that the Israeli Communist Party suffered losses as Arab voters shifted to Labor.

On the other hand, the closeness of Tuesday's vote is bound to give added leverage to the religious parties, without which Mr. Begin will not be able to form a government. Some of the hardest liners on the West Bank and Jewish settlements are in those parties. The influence of Israel's small religious minority will also be increased in important areas such as education and social policy. The religious parties have always played a key role in Israeli coalitions, but with Likud and Labor virtually even, their strength may now prove greater than ever.

Mr. Begin's re-election is also likely to make Israel's relations with the United States and Europe more difficult, especially after the raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor. Mr. Peres' foreign policy might not have differed greatly from Mr. Begin's, but personal relations would almost certainly have been easier and his tone would have been more conducive to negotiation than confrontation.

Nonetheless, if Mr. Begin is to continue as prime minister, no matter how prickly he may be, ways must be found to deal with him. An acceptable formula that safeguards Israel's security and provides autonomy for Palestinians may or may not be found during his tenure, but the effort must go on.

It is also worth remembering that Mr. Begin was elected freely and that he is the leader of a staunch friend of the West in an important and volatile part of the globe. Israel elected him and the world must live with him. If that proves difficult, it is the price one pays for democracy.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

## The Right to Come and Go

The right to travel outside the country, which the Supreme Court declared just 23 years ago to be a part of the "liberty" every American citizen enjoys, was almost written out of existence by the Supreme Court on Monday. Its 7-to-2 decision in the Philip Agee case gives the secretary of state virtually unlimited power to deny a passport to anyone — or to revoke one already granted — if the secretary asserts that that person's presence abroad is likely to damage national security or foreign policy.

Few tears, to be sure, need be shed for Mr. Agee. He may now be compelled to come home and account for his efforts to expose the identities of this country's secret intelligence agents and sources, and worse things could happen. Instead of handling this case in a way that would have limited its application to conduct of the kind in which Mr. Agee has engaged, Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote with a sweep that is startling in its implications.

Freedom of Americans to travel abroad with a passport, he said, "is subordinate to national security and foreign policy considerations." When there is a "substantial likelihood" of serious damage to either national security or foreign policy from the activities of an American traveler, the government can deny or revoke the traveler's passport. The Constitution requires no more, he said, than a statement of reasons and a prompt post-revocation hearing. Then, in a footnote, as if it were an afterthought, the chief justice added the final blow: The court is not saying that either a statement of reasons or a hearing is required.

The effect of this, and the rest of the chief justice's opinion, is to give every secretary of state a weapon to hold over the head of every American abroad. Can a passport be revoked if its holder makes a speech in Israel that the

secretary of state claims damages American foreign policy? Can a journalist's passport be revoked if he writes stories from, say, El Salvador, that seriously undermine the premises of U.S. policy toward that country? There is language in this opinion that suggests the secretary could revoke both passports and not even bother to explain why. The chief justice simply refused to give serious consideration to the possibility that the government's control of foreign travel may be limited by the First Amendment.

It may be that if such cases ever arise, the court will recover from this deep bow it has made before the executive branch and its control over foreign policy. But in the meantime, the right of Americans to travel abroad without interference from the government has been seriously weakened. That right, by the way, has been made much of in the recent argument over human rights policy and over the distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. The greatly more despotic totalitarian government (it is argued by those who favor the distinction) denies its citizens that "liberty" to go abroad and come home again, which is the mark of a free nation and exists even in some authoritarian ones.

There is, fortunately, a remedy for this. Congress can take from the secretary of state the power that the court, by its strained reading of the Constitution and a law passed 50 years ago, has said is his. Congress, the court said, can set the standards under which passports are issued, denied and revoked. Congress should do that promptly even if it means setting aside some of the other work its judiciary committees now have under way. The right to travel is so much a part of the essence of America that this judicial opinion cannot be permitted to stand.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## International Opinion

### Women and the U.S. Draft

The Supreme Court showed perfect restraint in upholding the 1949 draft law that excluded women. The court's sound action has, naturally, resulted in a howl of protest from the radical women's libbers. They are out of touch with the mainstream of women who, while fully as patriotic as their male counterparts, do not see any constitutional mandate that all drafts include females.

— From the *Sunday Republican* (Waterbury, Conn.)

The Supreme Court's decision allowing sexual discrimination in draft registration is unfair to men, insulting to women, offensive to reason and unnecessary. As Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote in a dissenting opinion, the decision "categorically excludes women from a fundamental civic obligation."

— From the *Charlotte, N.C., Observer*.

The decision disappointed feminists who contend that an all-male draft treats women

as second-class citizens. It also chagrined cynical anti-military groups. Basically these groups wish to deny the United States the option of strengthening its armed forces through conscription. They know registering women would complicate and probably kill a draft, so naturally they are for that step.

Certainly women should have full and equal rights, but that does not mean there is no difference in the suitability of men and women for combat. Placing women in combat roles goes against the values, traditions and religious beliefs of this and other democracies. We think the armed forces already have taken in too many women, especially with NATO in Europe. Many female soldiers are pregnant and many others have small children living with them on base. If the balloon goes up, they will look after their children, their men will look after them, and there will be fewer soldiers left to look after the Russians.

— From *Scripps-Howard Newspapers*.

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

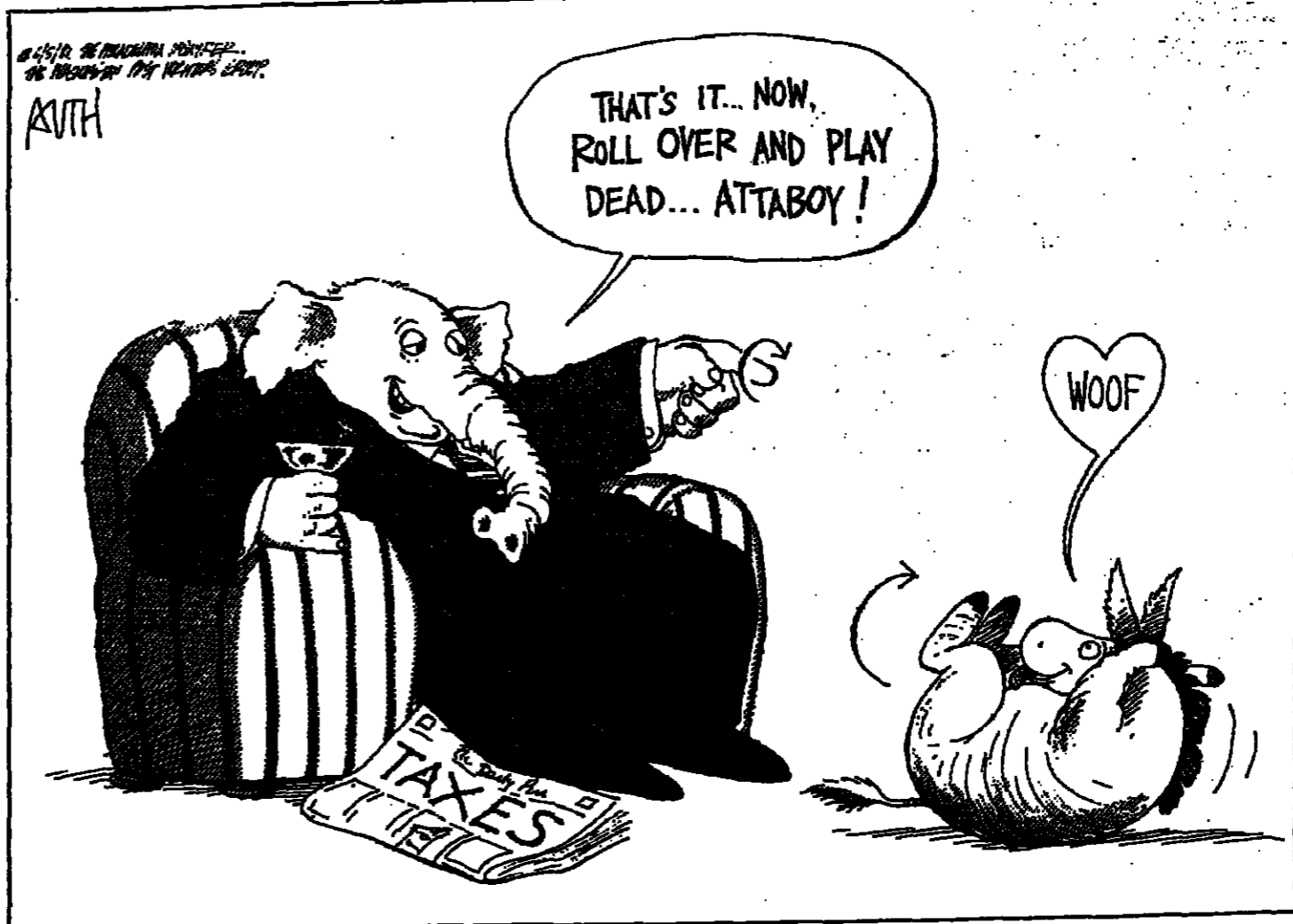
July 2, 1906

NEW YORK — Mr. William Jennings Bryan's renewed popularity in the United States and the wave of sentiment favoring his nomination by the Democrats is reflected in the editorials of Southern newspapers. The Statesman, of Austin, Texas, observes: "In the early days of his national leadership Mr. Bryan owed everything to the people. The politicians, as a rule, were unfriendly to him. Some opposed him openly and even fiercely. They characterized him as a dangerous demagogue. Today the politicians are cording Mr. Bryan. Men who could not bear him eight years ago, as well as those who then supported him perfunctorily, are mightily taken with him, and lauding him as a wise statesman."

### Fifty Years Ago

July 2, 1931

NEW YORK — Harold Gatty and Wiley Post, American round-the-world fliers, ended their great race against time at Roosevelt Field at 5:49 p.m. today, almost a day and a half ahead of the schedule they set for themselves when they left New York last Tuesday. The fliers hopped off on the record-smashing dash around the world from Roosevelt Field at 5:56 a.m. Tuesday week. Their total time was 8 days, 11 hours and 53 minutes, a record for all time in human travel. With excitement, a crowd estimated at more than 250,000 persons acclaimed the triumphant aviators at Roosevelt Field in the greatest popular demonstration that the famous airport has witnessed since Lindbergh came home.



## Time for the Democrats to Rethink

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The Democrats limped out of Washington for the Fourth of July recess, wounded in the Battle of the Budget by the Republicans and by the defection of some of their own troops. Speaker Tip O'Neill is concerned but not dejected.

"People seem to recognize me," says the white-haired heavyweight who presides over the House of Representatives, "and I tell you, they're beginning to understand what this budget is going to mean to their families."

"Three months ago, they were bombarding me with letters and even coming up to me in airports suggesting that I give Reagan's economic recovery program a chance. Now they are getting worried and asking what Reagan's doing to them."

Nevertheless, the old Democratic skipper is worried. He sort of admires Reagan, who out-guessed him on the budget, outmaneuvered him in the House and outtalked him to the people. "I expected him to cut me off at the knee," the speaker says, "but he cut me off at the hip." But the speaker's consolation is that it is now clear who is responsible for this budget, and he is preparing for the coming battles.

### Specter of Bitterness

The Democrats have a lot of thinking to do. Their leaders, including O'Neill in the House and Robert Byrd in the Senate, recognize that the people want an economic change, but they don't think Reagan's recovery program will lick inflation, interest rates or unemployment, or balance the budget.

And the Democratic leaders are anxious about one possible consequence of their gloomy analysis of the Reagan economic program. For if it fails, they know, while this might restore the Democratic Party's political prospects, it could also lead to a violent reaction from the people cut off by this budget, and to a kind of class division in the nation. So they have to be careful not to encourage the economic failure they fear and nobody wants.

Meanwhile, what the Democratic leaders realize now is that in the budget battle they were not able to defeat the Reagan conservative program merely by defending the old New Deal programs and denouncing the Republi-

cans for amending some of them and scrapping the rest. In fact, the Democratic leadership didn't even manage to make clear that the two major objectives of the Reagan program — modernizing American industry, so that it could compete more effectively in the export markets of the world, and developing new weapons to keep abreast of military technology — depended on education and on the research and development of the future, which the Reagan budget was reducing.

Accordingly, there is general agreement among the Democratic leaders that their problems lie not wholly or even mainly with Reagan but with themselves. They have to concede that merely opposing Reagan is not enough. They must reexamine their own past assumptions, reform their party structures and prepare for the congressional elections of 1982 and the presidential election of 1984 in a different and more orderly way.

John Brademas, the former Democratic whip in the House, was in Washington this week taking over as president of New York University. He made a few observations and suggestions about the problems of his party, including the following:

• It had lived, he thought, too long on the capital and successes of the past, and, like Reagan, had not invested enough on research and development for the future.

• He felt that the party had to rebuild its links with the intellectual community of the nation — by which he meant not only leaders of universities but also the thoughtful and experienced leaders in business and industry now operating through multinational corporations all over the world.

• Democrats, he insisted, were lagging behind Republicans in the new computer techniques of raising funds, and had to get their national, state and local committees together for this purpose.

• Part of the problem, he concluded, was that the Democrats had drifted apart. The Democratic National Committee had become, in recent years, a "Carter committee," without close and effective links with the state party committees or the party leaders and members of the Congress.

Reagan's budget victory, particularly his defeat of O'Neill and the Democratic majority in the House, has clearly stunned the Democrats. They're willing to wait and see whether his economic program works, and want to be sure they are not blamed if it doesn't. But they also think he is getting in deep trouble on both foreign and domestic policy, and they want to be ready with a more considered Democratic Party alternative if he does.

They have established a new policy study group in the Democratic National Committee

for this purpose, but they have nobody to lead it. Former President Carter, who is supposed to be the "titular leader" of the party, has almost disappeared.

Former Vice President Mondale has quietly taken over the job of redefining the party's purpose, strategy and tactics, and he is now going all over the country, building personal loyalties and party unity for 1984. In this sense, Reagan's budget victory has been significant. It has finally convinced the Democrats that they are in trouble and must redefine their policies and get their troops together.

6/1981, The New York Times.



Walter F. Mondale

## A Democrat Looks at Interest Rates

By Henry S. Reuss

WASHINGTON — There is bipartisan agreement, a national consensus and a loud international outcry that interest rates in the United States must come down. Double-digit rates are threatening to wreck investment, small business, farmers, housing, construction, the automobile industry, financial markets and institutions, and to hurt some of our staunchest allies.

But how can we bring interest rates down? What about creating a supply of new money at a fast pace? The trouble in doing that, as we have learned at some cost, is that failure to control the money supply soon results in more inflation and even higher interest rates.

Or we could organize another Great Depression like the one from 1929 to 1940. That got the

three-month Treasury bill rate down — to two one-hundredths of 1 percent by 1939! But the cost of such a measure — unemployment averaging 25 percent for 10 years — surely would be considered excessive, especially by those suffering the unemployment.

### Austria, France

Are there, then, ways to bring interest rates down other than to pursue these unacceptable courses? Of course there are. Here are three approaches that Democrats in Congress have been suggesting.

• We could curtail inflation directly, using the kind of incomes policy that Austria has used so successfully in the last few years, securing the cooperation of labor and management to keep wages and prices down, real incomes high

and unemployment virtually nonexistent. Lower inflation means lower interest rates. Thus the central bank discount rate in Austria was held at 6.75 percent in the year from March, 1980, to March, 1981, despite two bouts of 20-percent interest rates in the United States and high, gyrating rates elsewhere in the world.

In the Democratic Party's views in the 1981 report of the Joint Economic Committee, issued March 2, we said:

"Other nations, such as [West] Germany and Austria, control inflation by coordinating wage settlements very carefully across collective bargaining units, by keeping prices under heavy international competitive pressure through a high exchange rate, and by trading high levels of public services and social security for wage restraint as part of a 'social contract' between workers and their government. These and other approaches should be evaluated to determine the role they could play as part of a comprehensive strategy against inflation."

But the Reagan administration is not likely to learn from the Austrian experience and to work toward an incomes policy for the United States.

• We could encourage the banks to fight inflation by using the kind of selective credit policy that France has used under past conservative governments. Credit is thus channeled away from speculative uses and toward capital investment, permitting lower rates of interest for purposes — energy conservation, housing, productive capital equipment, new plant — that contribute most to noninflationary economic expansion and the well-being of the people.

The Democratic Party's views

took this form in the report: "The administration and the Federal Reserve should encourage the banking system to develop effective methods to prevent destabilizing bursts of bank-financed lending for speculative and purely financial purposes, which make less credit available to enhance productivity and thus fight inflation."

But the Reagan administration is not likely to challenge the bankers and disappoint the speculators with an effective program of credit guidance.

• We could bring the federal budget under control. If Congress and the president agreed to put aside the current schemes to disperse untold billions of tax dollars to the unneeded, interest rates would come down tomorrow.

### Three Policies

As the Democrats said in the 1981 report: "The administration wants a vast personal income tax cut, mostly effective in the future, and we are told that, for some reason, it must be enacted now. We favor more modest tax cuts, less oriented toward the wealthy right now, and, for the future, we favor a long, hard look before we leap."

With a smaller budget deficit, we could have the same degree of monetary control, the same intensive battle against inflation, and a smaller Treasury demand for credit and lower interest rates. In short, with a sensible incomes policy, credit policy and budget policy, interest rates would come down — and life could be sweeter all around.

Henry S. Reuss, Democratic Representative from Wisconsin, is chairman of the congressional Joint Economic Committee. He wrote this article for The New York Times.

## Letters

### Family Matter

The U.S. secretary of state, Alexander M. Haig Jr., is worried about the fact that the current French government includes four Communists. He says (IHT, June 29), "It's simply a fact of life that Communist regimes, whether they are closely affiliated with Moscow or not, pursue policies which are not consistent with those of the Western family of nations."

Maybe Mr. Haig no longer considers the People's Republic of China — to which he is willing to sell lethal, offensive weapons — to be a Communist regime. His friend Deng Xiaoping will certainly not share this opinion.

Which is more dangerous to the security of the United States: four Communist members with minor roles in a friendly government, or massive arms sales to a Communist state whose avowed final aim is to bury us all?

J. PASQUALINI.

### Sovereign Nations

In commenting on the appointment of four Communists to the French Cabinet, Vice President Bush should have limited himself to the one intelligent thing he said (IHT, June 25): that the West European allies of the United States "are sovereign nations, and the decision on how they are governed rests with their citizens and their elected representatives."

I trust the judgment of Mr. Mit-

terrand and the French electorate on how they shall be governed far more than that of Mr. Bush and the other uninformed knee-jerk sufferers in Washington.

It follows that if the Reaganians expect the French to heed complaints about Communists in their government, then, in turn, Washington is apparently prepared to listen to French complaints about the effects here of high interest rates in the United States.

JIM WARD.

Bordeaux.

### Together

Francois Mitterrand's arrival is like a fresh, cool breeze in a locker room. If nothing else, the Reagan team could learn from him (regarding his inclusion of four Communists in his Cabinet) a basic precept of organized crime: Stay close to your friends, but stay closer to your enemies.

ROBERT RODGER.

Frankfurt.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor," and must include the writer's address and signature. Priority is given to letters that are brief and do not request anonymity. Letters may be abridged. We are unable to acknowledge all letters, but value the views of readers who submit them.

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# FitzGerald Vows to End Ulster Strife

## IRA Demonstrators Rally Outside Dail

**United Press International**  
DUBLIN — With 2,000 demonstrators chanting support for IRA hunger strikers, newly elected Irish Premier Garret FitzGerald vowed to make an end to violence in Northern Ireland his top priority.

"Nothing in this state can take precedence over trying to resolve the tragedy in the north," Mr. FitzGerald told the Dail (parliament) Tuesday after it selected him to replace Charles Haughey. Neither had won a majority in the June 11 election.

Outside, 2,000 demonstrators chanted support for eight Irish nationalists on hunger strikes in Northern Ireland's Maze Prison. Four other convicts have died in the campaign to force Britain to give them the status of political prisoners rather than common criminals.

The hunger strike was made more difficult for Mr. FitzGerald to deal with, because one of the hunger strikers, Kieran Doherty, unexpectedly won election to parliament, along with another IRA inmate, Patrick Agnew.

### Coalition Pact

Parliament had to choose a premier after neither Mr. FitzGerald's Fine Gael Party nor Mr. Haughey's Fianna Fail Party won a majority. Mr. FitzGerald struck a coalition pact with the Labor Party, leaving the balance of power in Tuesday's vote with six independents.

Mr. FitzGerald said he would continue the talks on Northern Ireland started by Mr. Haughey and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

"We will seek to re-establish trust and confidence between the people and the political leaders of all communities," said the 55-year-old economist, who will not be in a position to take unpopular decisions.

Mr. FitzGerald was a chief architect of the 1974 Sunningdale agreement that brought Northern Ireland's Protestant and Catholic moderates together in a short-lived government.

The new premier also said Mr. Haughey's administration left him with "major problems" on the economy.

Ireland's Central Bank warned the balance of payments deficit was at a 30-year high, unemployment of 127,000 would continue to rise, and inflation of 17 percent was held down only by food subsidies introduced by Mr. Haughey before the election.

Mr. FitzGerald has pledged to eliminate the deficit within four years and to cut inflation to single figures. He planned to cut income taxes 10 percent but increase taxes on luxury items.

### U.K. Labor Policy Shift

**LONDON (UPI)** — In a major shift, the opposition Labor Party's policy group has recommended support for the reunification of Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic, party officials said Wednesday.

Commenting on the recommendation, which must be ratified by the full party, Labor leader Michael Foot said he favored Irish unity but that he remains opposed to withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland at this time.

The current bipartisan Labor-Conservative policy guarantees that Northern Ireland remains part of Britain as long as the majority of people there wish it.

# France and Britain Record Coldest June

**LONDON** — June was the coldest on record in France and Britain, and a British automobile organization advised drivers to keep the anti-freeze in their cars because of the low temperatures.

The latest women's fashions were hidden under coats and stoles during Britain's Royal Ascot racing week.

Rain and cooler-than-normal temperatures afflicted much of northern Europe. But European Economic Community officials in Brussels said the weather could help wheat and spring barley crops in Britain, Belgium, West Germany and Scandinavia.

In southern Europe, however, heat waves affected Spain and Greece, while the weather was normal for the season in Italy.

# Russians Restrict Buying Power of Alien Residents

**MOSCOW** — Soviet authorities on Wednesday introduced new currency regulations for Moscow's foreign community, barring all businessmen and correspondents from shopping with convertible currency coupons in the capital's diplomatic shop.

A spokesman for the Foreign Trade Bank said that the coupons, essential for virtually all daily purchases, would be issued only to diplomats.

The coupons can be spent in a large Western-style supermarket that sells Soviet and imported foods for hard currency. The goods are not available for ordinary Soviet rubles.

These coupons have been available to diplomats, correspondents and businessmen since the mid-1960s. No explanation was given for the change.



Ireland's new premier, Garret FitzGerald, leaves parliament with policemen after his election.

# FitzGerald, Ex-Foreign Minister, Scholar, Facing Difficult Political Task as Premier

**The Associated Press**  
DUBLIN — Garret FitzGerald, Ireland's new premier, faces one of the most difficult tasks in politics. He must lead a minority coalition government that will depend on the support of a handful of independents in parliament to put his policies into action.

In a parliamentary vote Tuesday, Mr. FitzGerald — head of the Fine Gael Party — defeated incumbent Charles Haughey by two votes with the backing of the Labor Party and an independent deputy. Neither Fine Gael nor Mr. Haughey's Fianna Fail Party won a majority in national elections June 11. And the coalition, with 81 votes, is still one short of a majority.

Mr. FitzGerald, 55, is a quiet, scholarly man but, according to a close associate, "make no mistake — behind that soft-looking glass there's a streak of pure steel."

### Exceptional Memory

And he has had experience working within a coalition. Mr. FitzGerald served as foreign minister in the last Fine Gael-Labor coalition government, between 1973 and 1977 under Premier Liam Cosgrave, and won an international reputation as a politician and statesman.

**New York's Fare On Subway, Bus Goes to 75 Cents**  
*New York Times Service*  
NEW YORK — The chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority says that increases in New York City subway and bus fares to 75 cents will be approved Thursday.

Richard Ravitch, the chairman, said on Tuesday that the fare, currently at 60 cents, would rise to \$1 in two weeks if the state Legislature did not enact a tax to finance transit operations before then.

A rise of 25 percent in commuter rail fares will also be approved Thursday, with a second, equal increase to come if there is no action on a tax.

Mr. Ravitch's statement means that subway and bus riders will be paying higher fares before the weekend is over. Mr. Ravitch said the second round of increases, if they are necessary, would take effect July 17.

A colleague, who requested anonymity, said: "His knowledge of world affairs is encyclopedic and his understanding of world affairs is extremely shrewd. He has this capacity to absorb a fantastic amount of detail."

As a child, he learned to read by memorizing the European railroad timetables and in later years taught himself economics. He eventually set up his own economic consultancy and became a lecturer in economics at University College, Dublin.

His approach to the Northern Ireland question is more moderate than those of most of his contemporaries.

His father, Desmond, was a Catholic, while his mother was an Ulster Protestant but both were nationalists. They joined the rebels who staged the ill-fated Easter Rising against British rule in 1916, and were imprisoned by the British after the rebellion was crushed.

Desmond FitzGerald was a poet and friend of Pound and Yeats. His mother was once Shaw's secretary.

### String of Defeats

The elder FitzGerald later became foreign minister of the Irish Free State after independence, but a string of electoral defeats made him bitter, and he told his son not to go into politics.

The young Garret studied for the law at UCD, but left to work for Aer Lingus, the fledgling state airline, planning its schedules.

After a spell as a journalist working for the Irish Times, The Economist and The Financial Times, Mr. FitzGerald was elected to the Senate, parliament's upper house, for a four-year term in 1965.

Then he joined Fine Gael and

# Resignations Spread In Denmark's Press

**The Associated Press**  
COPENHAGEN — Mass resignations by journalists spread Wednesday to cripple the national Ritzau press agency and shut down two of the capital's largest daily newspapers, Politiken and the tabloid B.T.

The walkouts brought to 11 the number of papers affected by a breakdown in contract talks between the journalists' guild and the federation of newspaper publishers. Journalists, who have been without a contract since March 1, were to resume talks Thursday.

# Libyan Envoys Held in Uganda Reported Freed

**The Associated Press**  
KHARTOUM, Sudan — Libyan diplomats who had been placed under house arrest in the Ugandan capital Kampala following accusations of plotting against the regime of President Milton Obote reportedly have been released.

The Sudan news agency reported the two diplomats were released Sunday, six days after they were confined pending investigation. It was not immediately known whether they would leave voluntarily for home or be replaced.

The minister of internal affairs, John Luvizira Kirunda, describing the alleged plot against Mr. Obote, said that the Libyans had, among other actions, tried to secure landing rights for one or more Libyan planes.

The agency report quoted the Libyan diplomats as denying the charges. Libya had supported the ousted regime of former President Idi Amin. Mr. Obote's regime is currently challenged by several guerrilla movements.

# Airport Opens In Singapore

**Reuters**  
SINGAPORE — Singapore's new Changi International Airport, built at a cost of 1 billion Singapore dollars (\$469 million), officially opened for civilian traffic Wednesday.

Almost half of the 4,000-acre airport complex was reclaimed from the sea. It has a 17-story control tower and a column-free hangar for three jumbo jets.

The total number of air passengers through Singapore last year was 7.2 million, and officials expected this to top 10 million by 1982.

# Red Brigades: On Offense During a Crisis

**By Michael Sheridan**  
*Reuters*  
ROME — The message was cold and to the point: "The trial is over ... For 30 years of anti-proletarian activity ... Taliario is condemned to death."  
Giuseppe Taliario, 54, a manager in the Venice area for the Montedison chemical firm, fell



Patrizio Peci and Giuseppe Taliario

## NEWS ANALYSIS

into the hands of Italy's ruthless Red Brigades on May 20. There is no appeal against proletarian justice.

Three other hostages await their fate in secret prisons, while last week a senior Rome policeman going home for lunch was killed by a burst of gunfire as the Brigades stepped up what the Italian press has called their new offensive.

Yet the Interministerial Security Committee, a top government body supposed to co-ordinate the fight against political crime, has not met for three months because seven of its nine members are under suspension for belonging to a secret Masonic lodge. It all adds up to a political problem that is worrying everyone, even the country's powerful Communist Party.

Premier Giovanni Spadolini, who took power on Sunday, has called for an all-out effort to put down the Red Brigades. He is backed in that fight by the Communists, who recently voiced concern that the present political crisis had allowed the Red Brigades to reorganize.

The Brigades certainly appear to show every sign of playing the political game to its fullest. Italian commentators cite the case of Cirillo, 60, who was kidnapped in Naples on April 27 by attackers who gunned down his bodyguards in a classically executed operation.

**Headed Earthquake Aid**  
A leading Christian Democrat, he headed the committee responsible for post-earthquake reconstruction in the region. The Brigades accuse him of exploiting the homeless in the damaged city.

Police found five letters from Mr. Cirillo last week in rubbish

bins in Rome and Naples. "I beg you to do everything in your power because my life depends on it," he wrote, referring to a demand for publication of transcripts of his so-called trial.

With criticism of earthquake relief widespread, the Brigades have been quick to seize the chance to make political mileage from Mr. Cirillo's captivity.

Giorgio Bocca, author of several

books on Italian politics and a commentator on the Brigades, believes mass arrests and trials have forced the terrorists back to their roots in what he calls a fifth phase. They began in the early 1970s with armed propaganda including kidnapping, moved into lethal terrorism and then attempted to make themselves the armed wing of an ill-defined leftist movement.

The fourth phase, he says, was a

strike at the heart of the state, symbolized by the kidnapping and murder of former Premier Aldo Moro in 1978.

Now he believes the "Brigatisti" have returned to kidnapping because it has the tactical advantage of requiring small teams and the political merit of constant tension. The Brigades are also holding an executive of the AI a Romeo auto company, Renzo Sandrucci, 53; and Roberto Peci, 25, an electrician who was kidnapped because his brother Patrizio turned informant.

The Brigades call Patrizio Peci a vile louse, and a senior police officer said that his brother's kidnapping on June 11 was a strong psychological blow to government efforts to encourage others to give information.

Police searched a lake last week for Roberto Peci's body following a telephone tip, but he has since written to his brother, who is under 24-hour guard in an Italian prison.

And the long wait is another turn of the screw for the families of all four men, whose hopes and fears now hinge on the anonymous phone call, the communiqué found in a rubbish bin or the message that will tell the police where they can find the body.

# Paris to Give Up Direct Control Of Broadcasting

**The Associated Press**  
PARIS — The new Socialist government plans to give up direct control of the state-run broadcasting system that served a succession of conservative governments for 23 years. Georges Fillioud, communications minister, declared Wednesday.

Mr. Fillioud told a Cabinet meeting that a special commission will be appointed to study how to guarantee the independence of French broadcasting and to ensure access to the media by all political factions. A draft law is to be submitted to the Socialist-controlled Parliament this fall.

The announcement, in line with President Francois Mitterrand's campaign promises, may have

been timed to diffuse the growing suspicion that the Socialists plan to use television and radio much as their predecessors did — to promote the government's programs and to limit access to its opponents.

Mr. Mitterrand has pledged not

to conduct a "witch-hunt" in French broadcasting.

But in the last week two of the country's three network chiefs and one of the most controversial television commentators, Jean-Pierre Elkabbach, have resigned or been forced out.

# Zimbabwe Opens News Agency

**The Associated Press**  
SALISBURY — Zimbabwe has ended 90 years of reliance for international news on South Africa's press service with the establishment of the Zimbabwe Inter-African News Agency.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, at a ceremony Tuesday marking the opening of the service's headquarters, described the event as a

further "consolidation of our independence. The birth of Ziama brings to an end a situation that was politically intolerable."

Mr. Mugabe said Ziama will have a monopoly on news distribution in Zimbabwe, but he added that "the monopoly should not be misused or abused. We expect much more factual reporting in Zimbabwe."

# "I like Lufthansa."

This is an authentic passenger statement.



**Lufthansa**  
German Airlines

# Poland From the Inside: Calm and Hopeful, Flaunting Its Alienation From the Regime

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Service

**G**DANSK, Poland — Jan Labecki, first secretary of the Communist Party in the Lenin Shipyard, member of Poland's Central Committee and seer of a new form of Communist rule for his country, fidgeted as his visitor returned to the question of the banner that had been strung across the shipyard's main entrance early that morning.

It was now midday and the banner still hung in the spot chosen by Solidarity union activists, its neat black lettering demanding the release of Poland's political prisoners. Soon, regional officials would be passing beneath it as they gathered at the shipyard to elect delegates to the national Communist Party Congress, and Mr. Labecki was acknowledging that the banner would still be there to greet them.

"Find somebody to take it down," the party administrator challenged his questioner. "There would be trouble, and whoever took it down would be out of a job and would never get another job here.... Solidarity is giving the orders right now."

Poland's national revolt against three decades of misrule and repression has turned the country into an ideological no-man's-land in the days leading toward the party congress that starts July 14. A surge of open nationalism, political activity and freedom of expression makes it seem that the Iron Curtain has been parted at the Polish frontier.

The fear that has been the cement of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe has been turned. In Gdansk, the party and its police fear the people, not vice versa. Communist Party officials are actually running for election to their jobs, in secret balloting, and they cannot yet know where this novel experience will lead.

Neither can the police, who would normally have yanked down the Solidarity banner at the shipyard. Nor can the censors, who normally would have halted the unvarnished reporting appearing in the Polish press and curbed the outpourings of Polish men and women who are excitedly telling each other what has happened to them, and their country, under 35 years of Communist rule.

A reporter asks a Polish activist what help the United States could send and is told, calmly, in the hearing of a dozen persons in a public place, "How about tanks?"

In this new Poland, it takes a well-publicized outburst by Communist Party leader Stanislaw Kania, backed by a threatening letter from the Kremlin, to stir the old fear and give a little backbone to the police and censors. Mr. Kania's promise of a crackdown is not an end to this season of dissent but an acknowledgment of the enormous task his weakened government faces in trying to get the genie of democracy back into the bottle.

Seen from inside, Poland's revolt looks dramatically different than when it is viewed from Washington against the backdrop of the Kremlin and the White House muttering menacingly at each other or at the Poles. Here, the periodic threats of global conflict are adjuncts to a subtle, cosmopolitan and highly risky internal power game that is not obeying traditional rules of such struggles.

"People talk about a power struggle, but power lies on the sidewalk and nobody picks it up," said Father Josef Tischner, an influential Roman Catholic theologian in Krakow. Andrzej Gwiazda, Solidarity's deputy leader, said: "We're doing our best to convince the government it is a government. Maybe that is why we argue so much with it."

That sentiment contains the core of the Polish paradox. Many opponents of the party fear that its government will simply disintegrate one day, provoking a Soviet invasion. Church leaders, Solidarity members and intellectuals who accept this view maneuver in silent complicity with party reformers to keep the government afloat long enough for it to be completely overhauled.

The Poles appear to be too busy trying to advance and understand the transformation in their society to keep asking themselves if the Russians are going to invade. Instead, it is the profound human experience within the Polish revolt that occupies them.

**A West German businessman who has traded for years with Poland replies to questions about the new situation there.**

"It is a mess," he says.

"But a hopeful one, promising one?"

"My God, no. It is an awful mess. Before, we placed our orders with a factory manager and we got deliveries at the right price, on time, more or less. But now, you have to talk to three Solidarity guys, a priest and the factory manager who can't give you any commitment. Prices are already up 20 percent and they still want to raise them more. No, it's impossible."

Two dominant impressions emerge from the comments of several scores of Polish Communist Party officials, Solidarity members, journalists, steelworkers, farmers and others interviewed during a week in Warsaw, Gdansk and Krakow.

The first is an almost total alienation of the population from its ruling class, expressed in the most open and visible way imaginable in a country subject to totalitarian rule for 35 years.

The second is the consequent turning inward of that population on its own resources. While the ideological hurricanes sweep the ground around them, Poles evidence a gentle human concern in personal contacts, almost as if they are celebrating the collapse of barriers that ideology had sought to erect among them. The mood in the long lines for food and other goods is unfailingly calm and courteous.

The seemingly complete disgust of the people for the rulers, who are seen, particularly in the last decade, as having driven the country into national bankruptcy through miscalculations and a policy of lies and deception, powers the still evolving drive for democratic freedoms in a Poland that would remain in the Warsaw Pact and have a Socialist economy run for the first time for working-class interests.

Three often conflicting goals seem to be gathered in loose harness around the Polish revolt, at times rising in the same direction, but usually wildly pulling against each other and making the revolt seem to outsiders to hunch from crisis to crisis without direction.

From Mr. Kania on down, the Poles want to keep the Russians out. Secondly, many Poles seem convinced that the Communist Party here must be reformed through democratic procedures to regain a minimal measure of consent from the population to govern — a consent that does not now exist.

Equally urgently, moderates in Solidarity and in the party voice a need to work together to resolve the economic disaster that Poland faces. But a major struggle still looms over the conditions of that cooperation, with Solidarity wanting to "control" economic reform without taking the "co-responsibility" for it, as the party urges.

This much has been clear for several months. What has changed recently is that the most important struggle in Poland no longer pits Solidarity directly against the party. The confrontation has moved inside each organization as Solidarity and the Communists prepare for their separate national congresses and seek political programs that define their aims and identify who is in charge.

With his twin warnings that the Russians have drawn a line and that reforms must nonetheless continue, Mr. Kania has moved to contain both his party's ideological conservatives and grass-roots reformers. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, apparently against the advice of some of his closest aides, has chosen to emphasize moderation and responsible behavior, to give Mr. Kania some breathing room.

**"Lines outside the shops in my neighborhood are good news. It means there is something in them to buy." — A Polish journalist.**

Each side gives the impression, for the moment, of waiting to see if internal divisions will cause the other to lose the cohesion that has brought power with it. In this view, the Soviet Union has also chosen to wait, while trying to influence this internal process through threats as an alternative to invasion.

The outcome is uncertain, but almost all of those interviewed insisted on one point as essential: Something approaching the current level of freedom of expression and association must survive. They see no turning back without a bloody repression directed from Moscow. Even then, a number of Poles said, much of the spirit of their revolt would remain to haunt the Russians. That, they added, is one reason they believe there will be no invasion.

They could be tragically wrong. But even so, the invading Russians would find that the revolution they came to stop had in many ways already occurred, at least on a psychological level.

The censor sat across the cocktail lounge table sipping a double Scotch, explaining why his government had failed and the revolt had begun.

Despite his liberal credentials and beliefs, Karol Maczynski is an influential member of the parliamentary committee that is drafting a new censorship law to determine the legal limits of what is said or printed in the "renewed" Poland. This law is crucial, he said, because the current turmoil is a crisis of faith.

It started, he said, with the sudden shifting of priorities, and of eyes, when fact-monger Edward Giersek took over from the stolid Wladyslaw Gomulka in 1970 and immediately set out to give workers cars and consumer goods to ease the pressures that led to Mr. Gomulka's ouster.

"Gomulka said workers didn't need cars. But Giersek wanted to do everything, to please all the people that Gomulka was always quarreling with. He opened the gates for Poles to travel; he got the license, the technology and the bank loans from the West, and he traveled all over the country to hold meetings.

"In the first five years, it was dynamic, and nobody asked where the money was going. Then the growth stopped and the leadership couldn't admit it. The meetings became empty, part of a completely autocratic way of ruling, and the leaders became victims of their own propaganda, that propaganda of success. The unbearable part was hearing how well we were doing, when we knew how poorly we were doing."

The borrowed money continued to flood in from the West, however, and through mismanagement, corruption, or both, Mr. Giersek's lieutenants invested enormous sums in industrial white elephants that produced worthless goods, put the country \$27 billion in debt, polluted the countryside and eventually angered workers and consumers.

Mr. Maczynski maintained that his fellow members of the Sejm (parliament) and the party leadership accept the idea that free discussion and reporting are necessary to clean up the mess. The censorship law, which will restrict only items of national security, obscenity, war propaganda and religious intolerance, will "contain 90 percent of what Solidarity says it wants," he said.

The quietest line in central Warsaw twists along the front corridor of a drab, five-story office building converted a few weeks before into headquarters for Solidarity. In the lobby of this visible symbol of Solidarity's new permanence and problems, volumes of poetry written by Poland's Nobel Prize-winning Czeslaw Milosz are on sale.

Printed in Paris by émigré groups and still officially banned in Poland, the books are sold at an even faster clip than the stylish Solidarity badges, banners and T-shirts now in vogue in Warsaw.

Solidarity is careful not to provoke the authorities by boasting of such sales. But they are not clandestine. They are part of the breaking of a long silence by the uprising that has become to be known by, and protected by, the name Solidarity.

At 27, Mr. Bujak has become one of the three or four top officials in Solidarity who work quietly in Mr. Walesa's shadow to organize and shape a mass trade union out of the enthusiasm and support of the 10 million to 12 million people — nearly one-third of the population — who have joined the movement.

These organizers wrestle with the internal dangers that success has brought to Solidarity. Mr. Bujak and the others remain a primary target of Mr. Kania's saber-rattling because of the differences among them over Solidarity's strategy toward the party and the government.

Those differences have given the party leadership a chance to fight back, to heighten the chances of fragmentation within Solidarity by convincing Poles that Solidarity has split into clear camps of "moderates" and "radicals." In this strategy, the government would blame economic chaos on the radicals and seek accommodation with the moderates to avoid new confrontation, especially before the party congress convenes July 14.

Mr. Bujak appears to have come down with Mr. Walesa on the side of trusting Mr. Kania and a new party leadership to deliver on the promises gained from confrontation. He worries that Solidarity may have gained too much too fast.

"We are amateurs at this," he said in a second-floor office as he sifted, with a slightly overwhelmed air, through organizational reports from factories. "We need professional organization to handle 10 million people and the trust they have put in our union after the failures of other institutions for the past 35 years. We should have had the structure first so we could welcome members in where we were ready, but it happened the other way."

Two blocks away, an hour later, Andrzej Gwiazda takes two packets of sugar out of a small carrying case as he orders coffee and sits down, his back to the wall of the crowded coffeehouse. A childhood in a Russian prison camp in World War II taught him "not to be afraid of polar bears" and to be prepared for anything. Solidarity's deputy leader says with a laugh. The waitress tells him they are out of coffee. He settles for lemonade.

Mr. Gwiazda is the engineer of Solidarity. His manner suggests the long career of an underground activist somewhat uncomfortable with being above ground now.

But these differences may in the end be overshadowed by the impressive agreement among men like Mr. Bujak and Mr. Gwiazda on the shape of a workable future for Poland, which centers on the acceptance of Solidarity's plan for workers' councils that would overhaul and run the major state economic activities.

It is an internal difference that Mr. Kania and ultimately the Kremlin must pin their hopes for a Solidarity that can be tamed, or alternatively, one whose failures can be used as a pretext for a crackdown that would gain some popular support.

But these differences may in the end be overshadowed by the impressive agreement among men like Mr. Bujak and Mr. Gwiazda on the shape of a workable future for Poland, which centers on the acceptance of Solidarity's plan for workers' councils that would overhaul and run the major state economic activities.

**It is the week that the government has permitted Lech Walesa to go to Geneva to be Poland's primary speaker at the International Labor Organization. There is evident pride in Mr. Walesa's entourage over his performance. But there is also concern that, as one of the aides closest to Solidarity's leader puts it, "the government has suddenly become intelligent enough to try to make life very comfortable for us instead of very difficult. Our credibility is what makes us a national force, and we must protect it against such a trap."**

"Several times a day now I have to remind myself that I am now carrying on real discussions with people, not just giving orders. It is part of the adjustment we all have to go through in this new environment. I will learn that, or I will have to go."

Halfway up the party ladder in terms of age and seniority, Tadeusz Zareba admits to having had difficulty in adjusting to "this fascination with democracy" that has been sweeping Poland. He is one of the Central Committee's top staff members, and he has come through the upheaval shocked but with a chance of surviving. Up to a point, he favors what has happened to the party he has belonged to for 31 years.

"In this country now, the authorities will have to get used to spending so much of their time answering criticism," said Mr. Zareba. "Criticizing the government, even without basis at times, has become a lasting element of Polish political life. It is not the most rational method of spending your time, or ruling the country, but it is necessary after this eruption of democracy."

He believes that the congress elections are reviving a party that "had become so passive before the total criticism that blamed the entire party for everything. The party is rebuilding itself from the base level through democratic means that were not used much before last August. Reasonable people in Solidarity know they need a strong party trusted by the people. We are not fighting Solidarity now. We want to influence the character of Solidarity. It should be a constructive element in Socialist Poland."

Did he see any circumstance that could lead to a Soviet invasion? "Nothing short of a civil war here in Poland. I don't know what the authorities would do in that event. And I don't foresee any such possibility."

"But it is important to remember that Poland is not an island. Geographically and politically, we are part of a given political system and a military alliance. This system is the base of our security, our integrity as a state. We regained our western territories (from Germany) as part of this system, and that is a guarantee of Poland as it is within its present borders.... Poland is not only part of the Socialist system, but an important part. What happens here cannot be a neutral thing."

**Question to a Solidarity activist: "Can you trust the army?"**

**Answer: "We trust the soldiers."**

When party officials talk about "anti-Socialist elements" in Poland, they usually have in mind Jacek Kuron and his fellow intellectuals in the Committee for Social Self-Defense, known as KOR. In the past two decades, Mr. Kuron has spent six years in prison and has been harassed by police repeatedly, when he is out of jail, because of his public campaign for democratic freedoms.

But the party is not likely to be overjoyed to hear that Mr. Kuron now says KOR "has finished its existence" and gone out of business. The reason is that KOR has moved into Solidarity, and its members have become intellectual and spiritual advisers to the union.

Mr. Kuron is helping Solidarity shape a program that would lead to reforms in political institutions in Poland, but he is not ready to talk about it specifically before the Solidarity congress.

"The important struggle now is for concept, for system, for the program that will solve our problems," he said. "That is occurring both within the party and within Solidarity right now."

He is fairly sure that this debate and its results will not trigger Soviet intervention beyond the current psychological war directed at the Politburo and Solidarity.

"What I remember, though, is a story about the man who thought he was a mouse. After six months, a psychiatrist convinced him that he was not a mouse. And as he goes to open the door he says to himself, 'I know that I'm not a mouse, and the doctor knows I'm not a mouse. I sure hope that cat across the street knows it.'"

Behind the roar of the ideological battles and the world power games, much of what is happening in Poland is a struggle of generations, a thrusting for power and position by younger people who have, until now, seen the roads to these goals blocked by an ossified bureaucracy that rewarded mediocrity, longevity and as well as blind obedience to the party.

"We are working to make sure this plant belongs to the nation, and not to the state," said Stanislaw Handzlik, Mr. Gil's deputy at the Nova Huta steelworks. "Until now, we have had a shortage of wise people, of people put in power because of intellectual ability instead of ideological acceptability."

In the party, the upheaval has also emboldened the few, younger officials who had been working for reform from within. The prospect of free elections has suddenly turned risk-taking into an acceptable, indeed necessary, part of Communist rule.

Jan Broniek began campaigning for direct elections within the party before Solidarity forced the issue last year. He is one of two party secretaries re-elected last month to the seven-member district committee in Krakow. Of the 433 delegates elected to the district conference, he estimated that only 30 percent had been elected to a party office before this year.

The five party secretaries not re-elected "will have to find other jobs now, I guess," Mr. Broniek said in a small conference room at the party's headquarters in Krakow. "Bad decisions on investments in tractors our farmers can't use, color television factories that produce too costly goods, and trucks that are not suited for our roads have created an atmosphere in which changes have to be made."

In Gdansk, where it all started, Mr. Labecki, the 37-year-old first secretary in the shipyard, easily won re-election to the Central Committee, a body he reportedly shocked last year by confronting it with, and endorsing, what were to become Solidarity's strike demands.

"New faces mean new credibility for the party," Mr. Labecki said. "But a simple exchange of leadership is not enough. The party has to get rid of the notion that it has the exclusive recipe for wisdom and efficiency and has to listen to the people much more. We can have a democracy that would be competitive with Western democracies, and that will be built on trust and justice, not fear."

Asked how the form of Communist rule in this kind of Poland would differ from that of the Soviet Union, Mr. Labecki said: "It is like taking a garment from an older brother. You can get it in, but the sleeves are too short, the pants are too long. If you want to take it as your own, you have to trim it here and let it out there.... A new Polish history is being created now. But we take into account our address and the address of our neighbors. We assure the security of the nation."

As archbishop of Krakow before becoming Pope John Paul II, Karol Wojtyla left a strong imprint on Poland. His friend, Father Tischner, believes that the pope in effect paved the way for what has happened since August by bringing a new public sense of unity and pride to the Poles, particularly through his 1979 visit and through opening churches in Krakow to study groups that helped identify the government's shortcomings.

"Now we must provide a new morality, a new ethical practice that will in turn create its own religious and political experiences." Father Tischner said. "We must stay in the realm of practice. Czechoslovakia made the mistake of trying to invent a new Socialism, and the Soviet Union reacted. You have to live within the framework of the illusion that Socialism with a human face already exists in the Soviet Union, that you are not going to invent something that already exists."

"We are sentenced to be ruled by the Communist Party," he said with a smile. "Some optimists think it can be a party that will have the role of the British queen in our new arrangement. I am not that optimistic, but the party may know now that it does not have to rule in every area of our society. Maybe the party knows now that it can trust the nation."



Workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk conducting a political debate last year.

## As Foreign Aid Dwindles, Poor Nations Grow Poorer

By Ann Crittenden  
New York Times Service

**WASHINGTON** — They're calling it "aid fatigue" in Washington, a pervasive public indifference and active legislative opposition to foreign assistance. Staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are complaining that as foreign aid shifts away from big infrastructure projects to rural development programs, corporate lobbyists have

washed, leaving church groups to carry the ball. And as one assistant noted, "they have less than six weeks left."

Not only in the United States, but all over the world, the level of foreign aid is dropping like a water table in August. Less and less aid is flowing to the poorest countries that need it most, particularly the small states in Africa below the Sahara. Last year, according to World Bank calculations, only 35 percent of official development assistance went to low-income countries, as against 48 percent in 1970. Partly as a result of this trend, the gap between the nations of the so-called "fourth world" and the rest of the international community is widening rapidly.

In the 1960s, aid flows from the developed countries increased by 18 percent a year, making possible, for example, the remarkable performance of the Indian agricultural sector, Shahid J. Burki, chief of the World Bank's policy planning division, said. "But for the next 10 years we expect a rate of growth in aid of about half that. Without more assistance, we expect virtually no [economic] growth, or even a decline in growth rates, in sub-Saharan Africa in the next decade, and growth of about 1.5 percent a year in Asia, compared to 3.5 percent a decade ago." Mr. Burki labeled these inequities "the most important development problem facing us."

### Possible Solutions

Most development experts suggest three possible solutions. One is to persuade wealthy nations to give more aid, which seems unlikely in view of current trends. Official development assistance, or foreign aid, consists of bilateral grants of money, food and loans at less than market terms from governments of industrialized countries and OPEC, and multilateral aid given by the World Bank, regional development banks and the United Nations. From 1977 to 1979, the latest year for which complete figures are available, official development assistance declined in real terms. Assistance from the Soviet Union, as Robert S. McNamara, outgoing president of the World Bank, has noted, "is so small as to be scarcely measurable." The Russians devote .04 percent of their gross national product to foreign aid, compared with an average of 37 percent for the 17 members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Paris-based organization of non-Communist industrial nations.

United States foreign aid last year amounted to 27 percent of GNP, by 1982, that will

### The politics of foreign aid

Aid figures represent the total of funds committed to developing countries by the industrialized nations and multilateral agencies

Poorest countries	GNP per capita (1978, in dollars)	Official development assistance (1979, in millions of dollars)	Official development assistance per capita (in dollars)	Percent of total official development assistance
Cameroon	105	20.5	0.20	0.2
Chad	85	18.5	0.22	0.2
Ethiopia	55	18.5	0.34	0.3
Guinea	105	18.5	0.18	0.2
Kenya	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Madagascar	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Mali	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Mozambique	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Niger	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Rwanda	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Tanzania	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Togo	120	18.5	0.15	0.2
Zambia	120	18.5	0.15	0.2

### Largest aid recipients

Country	GNP per capita (1978, in dollars)	Official development assistance (1979, in millions of dollars)	Official development assistance per capita (in dollars)	Percent of total official development assistance
India	200	2000	0.01	1.0
China	100	1000	0.01	1.0
Japan	100	1000	0.01	1.0
France	100	1000	0.01	1.0
West Germany	100	1000	0.01	1.0
United Kingdom	100	1000	0.01	1.0
Italy	100	1000	0.01	1.0
Canada	100	1000	0.01	1.0
USA	100	1000	0.01	1.0

\*Including Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and United States.

Source: O.E.C.D.; Overseas Development Council; World Bank.

كردمان العمل

Recordings

Listening to the the Digital Future in Sound

By Hans Panel

NEW YORK — Giant steps are usually taken by giants, nobody else having the requisite stride. Last month the world of audio was treated to the spectacle of two giants stepping boldly in tandem for the future.

To define the concept of a digital phonograph, we must distinguish between the currently available "digital" discs and the future format. What are currently sold as digital discs aren't really digital. The designation merely means that digital techniques were used at the studio to make the master tape from which the record is derived.

Not All Sound Captured

To make the music playable on present-day turntables, the digital master must still be converted into a conventional non-digital LP master. The hitch is that not all the sound captured on the digital master recording can be squeezed into the record groove.

The Sony and Philips devices operate on the same principle and use the same type of record. Both are quite small — about the size of a cigar box — and the record is no bigger than a teacup saucer.

ing time of current LP records. The significant difference, however, is not size but the totally different manner in which the sound is inscribed on the disc.

Digital systems can be defined as devices in which information of any kind (sound, images, written words or numbers) are stored, transmitted or processed in the form of electrical pulses which represent numbers.

On the small records used in the Philips/Sony system, the numbers are represented by microscopic pits in the surface and blank spaces between. A small laser — the crucial element in the new phonograph — shines a beam on these pits and counts them like pebbles in an abacus.

In both the Philips and Sony prototypes, the laser scans the disc from underneath, discerning the tiny pits, which are about 0.6 microns wide and 0.2 microns deep.

As for the sound, it can only be described as superb. These tiny discs — when played through amplifiers and speakers of common size — produce music in a way that simply rivets one's attention. It is like sitting

next to the players, and I suspect that it would be difficult to listen to music so vividly reproduced in a casual manner.

The digital disc will also render unnecessary all kinds of record care. No more brushes and cleaners — and you needn't hesitate to lend your records to fumble-fingered friends.

Price Estimated at \$700

Though the technical feasibility of the laser phonograph has been convincingly demonstrated, it may be some time before it becomes a consumer reality. The commercial intricacies of launching a wholly new recording format on a worldwide basis are staggering.

The new development has triggered fear for the obsolescence of all conventional phonographs. Such fears seem premature. For one thing, the price alone will limit the appeal of the new format regardless of its superior merit.

Movies

10 Weeks That Shook the Mexican Film World

By Richard Boudreau

TEPOTZOTLAN, Mexico — The Soviet director Sergei Bondarchuk, by making an ambitious double feature about the Mexican and Russian revolutions, with thousands of extras on horseback, and epic struggles on and off camera.

In 10 weeks of filming, Bondarchuk entertained bystanders with meticulously recreated battles at five locations. Hundreds of townspeople got to see six takes of the same victory by Emiliano Zapata's rebels in Tepotzotlan Square.

Even before the shooting ended Saturday, the Mexican part of the movie was being panned here as an overpriced, shallow treatment of the country's peasant upheaval, a trivialized prelude to the Russian revolution that Bondarchuk will film in Leningrad.

The success of "Campanas Rojas" (Bells of Freedom) is important to the Mexican government, which invested \$1.25 million. The film is a pet project of President Jose Lopez Portillo's administration and the first of several co-productions planned with Spain, France and the Soviet Union.

The Mexicans and Russians agreed on a theme: the life of John Reed, the American journalist whose sympathetic coverage of both revolutions is recorded in his books "Insurgent Mexico" and "Ten Days That Shook the World." Now was their quarrel about the director, Bondarchuk — who filmed "War and Peace" in the late '60s — had once planned a film on Reed in Russia, but the project fell through.

Franco Nero was cast as Reed in "Campanas Rojas" and thrown into a production crew with two other Italians, 18 Russians, 60 Mexicans, Swiss actress Urmila Andrus and four interpreters. "There are times," he said, "when nobody understands anybody."

The first misunderstanding involved Bondarchuk's script. The Mexicans read it and cringed. There were eight revisions and weeks of bickering that prompted

Carlos Ortiz Tejeda to quit as director of the Mexican government movie company.

"We thought Bondarchuk, being a distinguished director and a Soviet deputy, would offer a serious Marxist analysis of our revolution," Ortiz Tejeda said. "Instead, he gave us a Hollywood caricature full of stupidities and inaccuracies — little things that showed he knew little about our history and cared less."

The director agreed to cut a scene in which Pancho Villa kneels to beg a stay of execution, references to a homosexual adviser of Zapata, a dialogue between Reed

and Zapata, and a "flash forward" to President Lopez Portillo on Mexican Independence Day and U.S. soldiers in Vietnam.

The director improvised the final script on location, restoring the interview between Reed and Zapata, who never met in real life. The Mexican newspaper Excelsior asked: "What confidence does the rest of this film deserve?"

Mexico will get distribution rights for each 2-hour-10-minute part of "Campanas Rojas" in an estimated 35 percent of the world market for considerably less than the corresponding percentage of investment.

Even so, the Mexican newspaper Uzo Mas Uno said the government had been "deceived into thinking Mexico's name would be elevated" and said the movie should have been spent to make 10 good "national films."

"Great films always involve differences of opinion," Bondarchuk said. He said his film is not intended as pure history. "The Mexican and Russian revolutions were the two greatest events of the 20th century," he added. "The film treats them as great murals. It is like 'War and Peace,' but without Tolstoy's excellent script."

The London Stage

A Delightful 'Shoemakers' Holiday

By Sheridan Morley

LONDON — I have seldom approached the National Theatre with less enthusiasm than for the opening of the new Olivier stage production of "The Shoemakers' Holiday." In the first place it is directed by John Dexter, who like Peter Hall has been getting alarmingly operatic of late.

Secondly, like Morris dancing and the Henley Regatta, "The Shoemakers' Holiday" has always seemed to be one of those ritual English celebrations which ought to be a lot more fun than they ever turn out to be, and thirdly it comes into that uneasy category of museum pieces which occasionally have to be revived simply because somebody somewhere once decided they were to remain a part of the national (and therefore National Theatre) repertoire.

So much for prejudice. What really is at the Olivier is an evening of considerable delight, a celebration of London perfectly timed for a St. Paul's wedding, and at long last proof that the National is beginning to think and work like a resident team instead of a collection of guest stars.

Written in 1599, Thomas Dekker's comedy is in one sense the middle-class Londoner's riposte to Shakespeare. Its hero is the cobbler-unit leader who becomes lord mayor, its characters defiantly neither princes nor paupers. Where Shakespeare exclusively concerned himself with high life and low life, Dekker goes straight to the middle, and when the king does finally put in an appearance it is as a supporting player at Simon Eyre's mayoral coronation.

A play much beloved of amateur dramatic societies, since it allows large groups of people to stand to the front of the stage drinking and hammering and roistering without much need for close acquaintance with the plot, "The Shoemakers' Holiday" is also a very careful tapestry of London life at the turn of its century, and Julie Trevelyan Oman's triple-arched set, with its cluttered central shoemakers' den, is a marvelous reflection of that.

While on the other side of Waterloo Bridge the Royal Shakespeare Company is camping around with Michael Bogdanov's shamefully travestied "Knight of the Burning Pestle," Dexter has a contrast gone for an utterly faithful rendering of the play, which seems to be the essential simplicity of its structure. We therefore get Simon Eyre's rise to Guildhall matched by the two subplots about star-crossed lovers, but it is in individual moments that this production truly triumphs.

When, for instance, Eyre's journeyman Rafe returns from the wars he throws open the top half of a stable door at the back of the set and there is general rejoicing at his safe homecoming. Until, that is, he throws open the lower half of the door and we see that the wars like Cicely Bruntnicket come in to be laughed at; Dekker's language is a thesaurus of localized geographic or scatological insults and all the basic jokes are here, from foreigners who have to be shouted at to a finale in which Eyre's wife comes on dressed as Elizabeth I while the king himself bears an alarming resemblance to Olivier's Henry V.

The danger is that the whole affair will degenerate into a period beer commercial, but Dexter avoids that through superb casting; though Alfred Lynch seems at first to lack the sheer showbiz chutzpah needed to become lord mayor and have Strove Tuesday made a cobbler's holiday, he finally wins through on sheer quiet charm, while Peter Lovstrom as

Rafe, John Normington and John Salthouse as the two union brothers, and above all David Yelland as the king ensure a pageant of constant delight.

It is hard to see how Dekker could have written a play more intimately concerned with the origins of "the gentle craft," but Dexter and Oman have done it, and when the king does finally put in an appearance it is as a supporting player at Simon Eyre's mayoral coronation.

All too briefly to the Riverside Studios in Hammersmith came the American Open Theater director, Joseph Chaikin, with his remarkable solo rendition of two Samuel Beckett pieces, drawn from the novels "How It Is" and "Texts for Nothing." Now called "Texts," this is an hour-long monologue designed to make us reconsider our notion of Beckett as a poet of nothing but terminal despair. Dressed as a vaguely Chaplinesque tramp, and backed on an empty stage by a spotlight bower and a spotlight cane as if to underline the similarity, Chaikin comes out to intone a sequence of jokes ("Nothing like breathing your last to put new life into you"; "There is no obligation to be dead, provided you make no bones about it") and disconnected cries of confusion.

But where most English, indeed European, actors settle for bleak defeat when playing Beckett, Chaikin goes in like a boxer determined to win through, despite the unnumberable booby traps in his path, to some sort of understanding about why he has been put there. What emerges is an amazing celebration of the human spirit and its apparently unconquerable talent for aimless survival. Chaikin as a director already has a distinguished place in any history of 1960s American theater; Chaikin as an actor is a great discovery, and it would be good to know that next time he takes to the boards it might be for a little longer.

The Tower of Pisa Tilts a Bit More

PISA — The Leaning Tower of Pisa is tilting even more and is in need of special care to prevent it from toppling over, a team of Italian researchers said Tuesday.

Two specialists from the Institute of Topography at the University of Pisa and a surveyor who made its annual check of the landmark said the marble tower had moved three thousandths of an inch since last year.

NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices July 1

Table with multiple columns showing stock prices, volume, and market data for various companies and indices on July 1st.





BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

Conoco, Rheinbraun in Joint Coal Venture

NEW YORK — Consolidation Coal Co., a subsidiary of Conoco, announced Tuesday that it had agreed to form a joint venture with Rheinbraun...

General Portland Rejects Lafarge Bid

DALLAS — General Portland said Wednesday its board, with one of the nine directors dissenting, voted to reject Canada Cement Lafarge's takeover offer of \$45 a share.

Daimler Sees 1981 Turnover Under 15%

STUTTGART — Daimler-Benz said Wednesday it does not expect the rise in 1981 group turnover to equal the 15-percent increase seen in the first half.

Adam Opel Profit Unlikely in 1981

RUSSELSHEIM, West Germany — Adam Opel, General Motors' West German subsidiary, is unlikely to achieve an overall profit in 1981, after last year's loss of 411 million Deutsche marks...

Mannesmann Sees Higher Earnings in 1981

DUSSELDORF — Mannesmann expects higher earnings this year and plans to pay an increased dividend in 1982, Managing Board Chairman Egon Overbeck told the annual meeting Wednesday.

BP, Exxon Turn Down Oil From Libya and Mexico

LONDON — In a demonstration of the oil industry's newfound willingness to turn its back on high-priced crude, British Petroleum and Exxon announced they had suspended liftings of Mexican oil.

Institutions Seen Laden With Stocks

By Charles J. Elia AP-Dow Jones NEW YORK — Institutional investors have pretty well decided that they like the stock market. They are so comfortable with it that they have reduced their cash reserves to the lowest level in more than four years.

U.S. Still Faces Problems Despite Slowing Inflation

By Lindley H. Clark Jr. AP-Dow Jones NEW YORK — The U.S. inflation rate has dropped out of double digits, but many analysts see the economy dropping into some double trouble: Little or no economic growth this quarter or next, and then a continuing brisk climb in consumer prices all next year.

Regan Says GNP May Dip in 3rd Quarter

WASHINGTON — The U.S. economy may contract in the third quarter, but no recession is in the offing, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan said Wednesday.

NYSE Prices Fall Broadly Under Pressure of Rates

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange retreated Wednesday over a broad front, pressured by continued high interest rates.

Smaller Deficit Seen

Rejecting foreign criticism of U.S. monetary policy, Mr. Regan asserted at a breakfast meeting with reporters that high interest rates and a stronger dollar help U.S. trading partners by spurring their exports.

CURRENCY RATES

Table with columns for currency, rate, and bank service charges. Includes entries for U.S., D.M., S.F., etc.

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Conoco Sues Seagram for \$1 Billion

WASHINGTON — Conoco filed a \$1-billion damage suit against Seagram on Tuesday and at the same time urged its shareholders to reject an offer by the Canadian company to buy up to 41 percent of the U.S. energy company.

Oil Company in Bid To Stop Takeover

WASHINGTON — Conoco filed a \$1-billion damage suit against Seagram on Tuesday and at the same time urged its shareholders to reject an offer by the Canadian company to buy up to 41 percent of the U.S. energy company.

Violations Alleged

The suit, charging securities act violations, asks Judge Edward Weinfeld to block Seagram from proceeding with the tender offer and from purchasing additional securities until it corrects material statements in its filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Selected Over-the-Counter

Table with columns for stock symbols, closing prices, and changes. Includes sub-sections for 'Closing Prices, July 1, 1981' and 'New York (AP)'. Lists various stocks like AAPL, AMZN, and others.

New RCA Chief Off to Fast Start

By Andrew Pollack
New York Times Service
NEW YORK — Thornton F. Bradshaw, who took over Wednesday as chairman of RCA Corp., has already started to tackle the company's biggest problems. One of his first moves was to speed Fred Silverman's departure as president of RCA's NBC television network.



Thornton F. Bradshaw

Bonn Approves EEC Steel Plan With Reluctance

The Associated Press
BONN — West Germany Wednesday reluctantly approved the EEC steel plan that provides for ending government subsidies to the community's steel industry by 1985.

Observers do not expect the replacement of Mr. Silverman to be followed by similar shake-ups in other areas of RCA. Mr. Silverman's impending dismissal has been rumored for months because NBC's position in the ratings had failed to improve and its earnings had sunk steadily from \$152.6 million in 1977 to pretax earnings of \$75.3 million in 1980.

RCA's 1980 earnings were a record \$315.3 million, or \$3.35 a share, up 11 percent from 1979. The gain, however, reflected the acquisition of CIT, completed in January 1980. Not counting CIT's contribution, RCA's 1980 earnings would have dropped.

For the first quarter of 1981, RCA's earnings fell 46.7 percent, to \$41.9 million, or 33 cents a share, from \$78.7 million, or 89 cents a share, in the corresponding 1980 period. Analysts predict that second-quarter earnings will be between 35 and 50 cents a share, roughly half of last year's level.

In addition to declining income from NBC, RCA's earnings have been hurt by heavy costs for the videodisk introduction and by high interest rates that have prevented CIT from contributing what had been expected. Hertz revenues are also below last year's.

Yet analysts suggest that those are short-term woes. In the long run, they say, RCA is in a better position than its earnings imply.

Mr. Bradshaw, who taught at the Harvard Graduate School of Business before serving 16 years as president of Atlantic Richfield, has a reputation as a smooth manager with wide-ranging interests and a strong commitment to corporate responsibility. He has been a director of RCA for nine years.

Analysts said that they do not expect Mr. Bradshaw to change substantially the course of the company, but they do expect a change in management style.

But revitalizing NBC will not be the only problem confronting Mr. Bradshaw, who is replacing Edgar H. Griffiths, who resigned in January but stayed on until Tuesday.

As the 63-year-old former president of Atlantic Richfield Co. takes the helm, investor confidence in RCA is low. Earnings are running at about half the level of last year and Standard & Poor's last

ratings lowered the company's commercial paper and preferred stock, citing declining profitability.

RCA has also been involved in some rather messy management shakeups in the last few years and must shoulder the burden of making good on a \$150 million investment in its new videodisk system.

Yet RCA, observers say, has tremendous potential. It owns the largest car rental company, Hertz; a large investment company, CIT Financial, and is well-positioned in television, satellites and other elements of the booming telecommunications industry.

Perhaps Mr. Bradshaw's main tasks, analysts and others suggest, will be to make RCA realize that potential and groom a successor to carry on.

Mr. Bradshaw, in an interview Tuesday, concurred. His role at RCA, he said, "should at least be the catalyst for the development of long-term strategic planning." He continued: "I think that's possibly the No. 1 priority. And the No. 2 priority is to provide for orderly succession."

The new chairman said he could not specify the nature of the long-term goals for RCA but said that they would emphasize a return to the company's "core business" of electronics and communications.

Defining an image and direction for RCA has been difficult and, partly because it went in so many directions, the company has floundered at times.

"They haven't lived up to their potential in the past," said Mark Hassenberg, who follows the company for Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, an investment firm. "They've given us many signs that they were moving in that direction but they've always found something to sidetrack it."

Mr. Griffiths, who became chairman in 1976, streamlined RCA's operations and divested it of many less promising units, such as food and publishing companies.

Under his tenure, RCA paid \$1.4 billion in cash and preferred stock to acquire CIT. It also undertook its costly effort to develop the videodisk player.

Yet Mr. Griffiths had a reputation for emphasizing short-term profits and a gruff, direct manner that irritated some directors and other executives. In 1980, he came under attack for the publicly embarrassing manner in which he discharged Maurice R. Valente, whom he had chosen to be RCA president six months earlier, and for forcing the resignation of Jane Cahill Pfeiffer as chairman of NBC.

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Coal Import Boom Forecast for Japan

By Sam Jameson
Los Angeles Times Service

TOKYO — A coal import boom has begun in Japan. With the instability in oil supplies — a revolution in Iran and the war between Iran and Iraq have meant reduced production — talk in Japan of shifting to other energy sources has been transformed into action.

In the fiscal year ended March 31, 1981, Japan increased its coal imports by 22.4 percent to 72.7 million tons, exceeding the previous peak of 62.2 million tons recorded in 1975. Imports of steam coal, (used largely for producing electric power), were up more than 400 percent, from 1.7 million tons to 7.1 million tons.

The output of Japan's coal mines has reached what experts describe as the peak level: about 18 million tons a year. Shinji Fukukawa, chief of the Energy and Natural Resources Agency's coal division, said that any future increase in demand will have to be satisfied by imported coal.

The Ministry of International Trade and Industry, which runs the agency, foresees a boom in coal imports unparalleled by any other item. Japan is likely to be importers' growing coal need will be coal exporters in Australia, Canada, China and the United States.

Imports of steam coal, according to the trade ministry, are expected to rise to 22 million tons a year by fiscal 1985 and then to 80.5 million tons a year in 1995.

The cement industry, which as recently as March, 1980, was using coal to provide only 18.5 percent of its power, has already increased that figure to more than 80 percent and by the end of the year it is expected to exceed 90 percent, Mr. Fukukawa said.

Japan's paper and pulp industry is carrying out a changeover that is expected to increase the share of its energy provided by coal from 0.4 to 13.5 percent by 1990.

The big push, however, is being provided by electric power firms. Conversion of 12 oil-fired plants and construction of eight new coal-fired plants will raise the capacity of coal-fired power plants from the present 5.1 million kilowatts to 11.3 million kilowatts by the end of 1985.

An additional 23 coal-fired plants are scheduled to be built in the five-year period ending in fiscal 1990. According to the Japan Federation of Electric Power Companies, this will bring the total capacity of coal-fired plants to 28 million kilowatts.

Kuzuo Shimoda, deputy director of the federations' research department, said that the electric power companies are far more bullish than the trade ministry over the prospects for coal consumption. By fiscal 1990, he said, the federation expects the electric power industry alone to be using about 50 million tons of steam coal, at least 8 million tons more than the trade ministry forecasts for the power industry.

In January, a White House task force on coal exports submitted a report to outgoing President Carter predicting that the United States could have 15 percent of Japan's imported steam coal market by 1985. It also predicted that the U.S. share could rise to 25 percent by the year 2000.

Mr. Shimoda said the United States was not likely to have a 15 percent share until 1990, but he said the percentages cited in the report were "very reasonable."

At the current price of \$73.75 a metric ton landed in Japan, 15 percent of the imports envisaged by the trade ministry for 1990 would amount to \$608 million. The figure for 1995 would be \$890 million.

A 25 percent share of the imports projected for 1995 would be worth nearly \$1.5 billion.

No one in Japan has predicted what the country's imports of steam coal might be in 2000. The White House task force, however, projected them at somewhere between 98.9 million tons and 318.5 million tons.

A \$400,000 feasibility study on the development of U.S. mines and export facilities needed to get Rocky Mountain coal to Japanese ports has just begun. The study, designed to cut through the difficulties, is being carried out jointly by the Japan Coal Development Co., a consortium of the nation's 10 power companies, and the "Western Coal Export Task Force," a group of coal producers, railroads, and U.S. port operators.

The size of the problem is perhaps best illustrated, by the difference between the costs of coal at the mine and at the point of delivery. From mines in the eastern United States to delivery in Europe, the cost goes up 44 percent whereas from mines in Montana and Wyoming to Japan, the cost skyrockets, from 175 to 400 percent.

With the help of about \$284.3 million in loans from Japan for railroads and harbor development, China has promised to increase its exports of coking and steam coal to Japan from 1.7 million tons in 1985 to 10 million tons in 1985 — a plan Mr. Fukukawa said Japan believes will be carried out on schedule.

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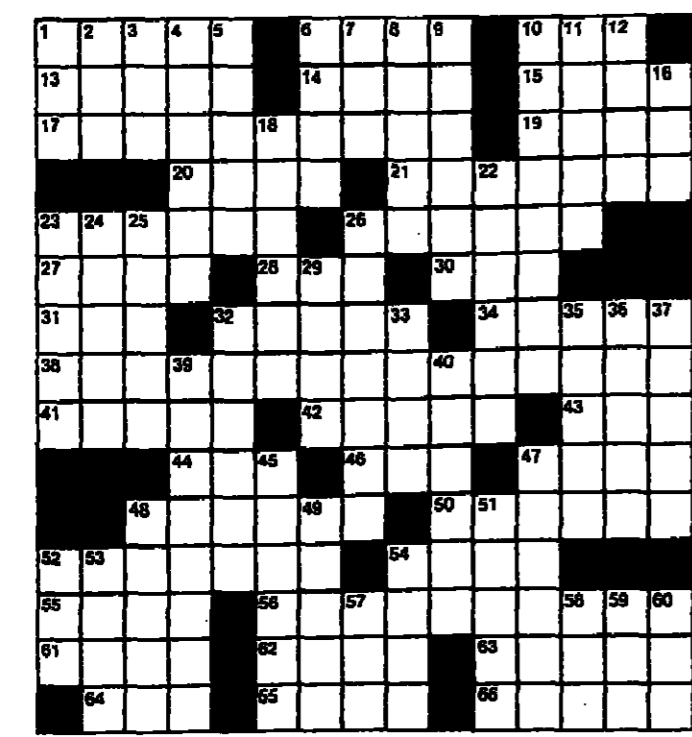
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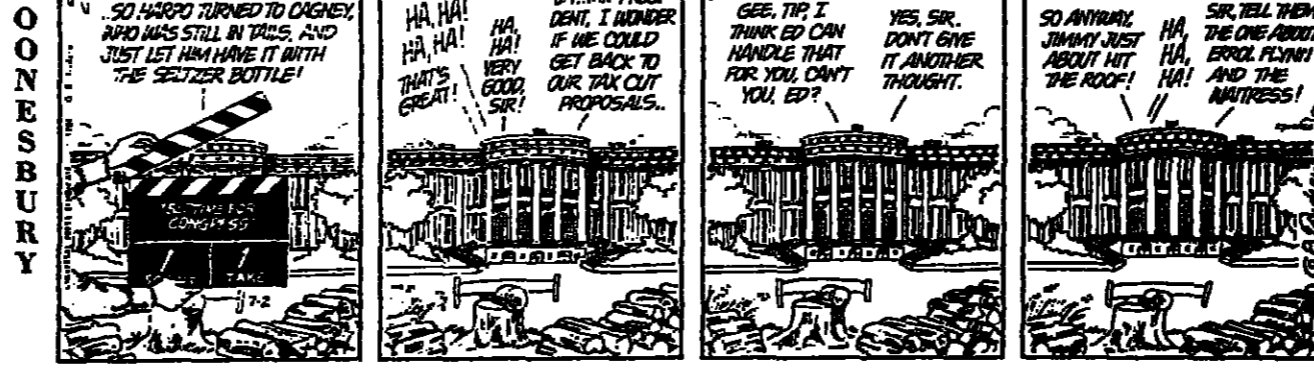
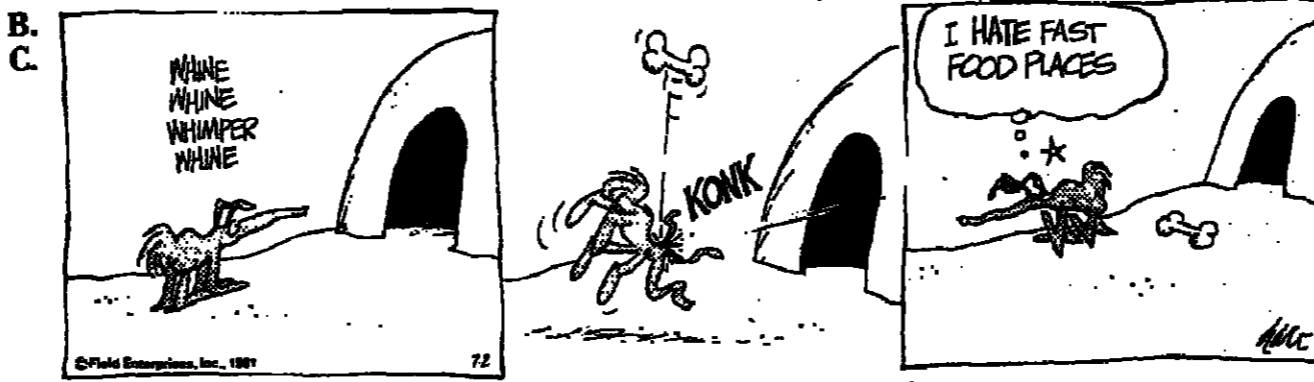
CROSSWORD By Eugene T. Maleska



- ACROSS: 1 Some Prunetomians, 6 Bartlett's relative, 10 Miss Le Gallienne, 13 Let in Buffalao's kin, 15 Cow in Castilla, 17 American playwright, 19 Architects' cocoritus, 20 "Jacta est", 21 Squares, 23 Composer, 24 Mahler, 26 Hall of Fame goalie, 27 Biographer, 28 Vane direction, 29 Cool, or econ., 31 "Winter" hero, 32 Same old routine, 34 Ansel, famed photographer, 38 Hit play by 17, 41 Singer Susan, 42 Place for a bust, 43 Old Tokyo, 44 Approves, 46 Letter for Churchill, 47 Certain cut, 48 Plane part, 50 Ranchers' ropes, 52 Condensed account, 54 Anagram for tuna, 55 City in Bergen Co., N.J., 56 Legendary giant lumberjack, 61 Look, 62 Singer James from L.A., 63 Like some seasons, 64 Uno a due, 65 Greek letters, 66 Character in "Silas Marner", 18 River into Bristol Channel, 22 Package, 23 ray, 24 Part of I. T. U., 25 Salt sound, 26 Derby winner after Count Fleet, 29 Kind of language, 32 Ornamental tree of the Orient, 33 Freshwater fish, 35 Ward off, 36 Femme fatale of myths, 37 Phoebe and C. P., 38 When whistles blow, 40 "... ay, there's a Hamlet", 45 Silly, self-conscious smile, 47 Sleep lightly, 48 Sea duck, 49 Under in posy, 51 Steel, 52 City RR's, 53 Pulitzer Prize winner, Howard Nemerov, e.g., 54 Word of woe, 57 Aztec, 58 Kennel sound, 59 Witch bird, 60 Group of peasants, 11 "Mélancolie," Liszt, 12 Civil rights org., 16 Ophidian

WEATHER

Table with columns for HIGH, LOW, and weather conditions for various cities including ALBUQUERQUE, ALBANY, AMSTERDAM, ANKARA, ATHENS, AUCKLAND, BANGKOK, BEIRUT, BELGRADE, BERLIN, BOSTON, BRUSSELS, BUCHAREST, BUENOS AIRES, CAIRO, CAGARIAN, CHICAGO, COPELHAGEN, COSTA DEL SOL, DAMASCUS, DUBLIN, EDINBURGH, FLORENCE, FRANKFURT, GENEVA, HELSINKI, HONG KONG, HOUSTON, ISTANBUL, JERUSALEM, LAS PALMAS, LIMA, LISBON, LONDON, LOS ANGELES.



JUMBLE: THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME by Henri Arnold and Bob Lee. Includes a grid of letters and words like VAYEH, GYKAW, NAZATS, RECLEY. Dennis the Menace comic strip: '...AND SOMETIMES SHE STICKS THE WHOLE THING INSIDE MY EARS!'

BOOKS

JOAN OF ARC: The Image of Female Heroism. By Marina Warner. Illustrated. 349 pp. Alfred A. Knopf, 201 E. 52d St., New York 10022. Reviewed by John Leonard

VOLTAIRE died on the same day as Joan of Arc, almost 400 years later. Voltaire made fun of Joan of Arc, for which he was never forgiven. In making fun of Joan, as Marina Warner emphasizes, Voltaire made fun of nationalism. He went too far. After Charlemagne, after the song-filled Roland, Joan was the only available hero who spoke French until De Gaulle. Even her Voices spoke to her in French. How else would they have communicated? But it is hard to be heroic and female at the same time. Warner, the author of the splendid "A Stone of Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary" and the not-so-splendid novel "In a Dark Wood," tells us just how hard it is. First of all, you have to be a virgin; the heroic female must remain unquilted; otherwise the Voices will switch to another channel. Next, you must adopt the aspect of androgyny, wear armor and bristles, crop your hair, ordain impotence. Finally, you must burn. We don't know the color of Joan's eyes, but we have a wealth of expert testimony on her hymen, none of it reliable. As Warner points out, a young woman who spent so much time on horseback, throwing lances is likely to look like damaged goods to anybody except a vested interest. What does "damaged goods" mean, and what has it to do with heroism? Why is it necessary for a female, in order to be heroic, to assume transvestism, to follow the camp like a fierce puppy and to keep at the throat of the English with a razor haircut? Who decided that she was a peasant, although by medieval standards, her family was reasonably well-to-do? How to account for her abjurations? Are we so steeped in sin that only a virgin can lead us through a rain of arrows? Is sex, then, corruption, at least for women? What did Joan say to the dauphin that made him take her seriously? Warner doesn't know what Joan said. She persuades us, however, that Joan was living her life according to the chivalric code; she was a character in a romantic novel, before there were novels. She had to pretend to be a nun in order to convince herself that she could be a hero. Chastity was a form of heightened perception, of the

JOHN DONNE: Life, Mind and Art. By John Carey. 303 pp. \$19.95. Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Ave., New York 10016. Reviewed by Anatole Brodyard

POWER, says John Carey, is the shaping principle in John Donne's poetry. We feel, he suggests, "a sensation of pressure gathered behind the poems, impelling them and subduing their recalcitrant materials. Inversions and interjections fracture the run of the lines, necessitating a strenuous advance." Contrary to popular opinion, Donne was not much of a love poet in the ordinary sense. His own self-examination all but obliterated the specific physical characteristics and the personality of the women to whom the poems were addressed. According to Carey, digestion was the bodily operation that fascinated Donne most, and his curiosity tended not toward sex but vivisection. Most of his love poems were not celebrations of love, but complaints against its inconstancy. Again Carey contradicts the general opinion by asserting that Donne was absolutely faithful to his wife. His need for constancy is traced back to what might be called the original sin of his apostasy from the Catholic faith to which he was born. In "John Donne: Life, Mind and Art," we meet a very different man than most of us expect. In a pleasure-loving age, under a pleasure-loving king, Donne was a singularly austere poet. Carey says that he lacked color and music and you did not go to him for pastoral joys. He took little pleasure in the visual because he was interested in deeper concerns. In a way, all his poetry was a theology. He brought religious references to his erotic verse and erotic references to his religion. "We might say," Carey observes, "that his rejection of Catholic superstition (relics, miracles) had left his hunger for holiness without a focus, so he invents a version of human love elevated enough to satisfy it." Donne views love as raw material, as a trial of

BRIDGE: WITH a virtually worthless hand, South found himself about to play a grand slam. When the opponents (seen sacrificed, his ebullient partner put him in seven no-trump. South was forced to take some action when his partner followed his strong artificial opening with a pass of an opposing four-spade bid. Four no-trump suggested a balanced hand, and the cue bid of five spades forced him to find a suit. He chose hearts and was raised to seven.

BRIDGE: NORTH: ♠AK, ♥AKT10, ♦AKQ3, ♣A. WEST: ♠787, ♥7, ♦882, ♣377. EAST (D): ♠QJ864, ♥982, ♦377, ♣AKJ. SOUTH: ♠QJ864, ♥982, ♦377, ♣AKJ. North and South were vulnerable. The bidding: East: 1♠, South: 1NT, East: 2♠, South: 3NT, East: 4♠, South: 5♠, East: 6♠, South: 7♠. West: 1♣, South: 1NT, West: 2♣, South: 3NT, West: 4♣, South: 5♣, West: 6♣, South: 7♣. East: 1♠, South: 1NT, East: 2♠, South: 3NT, East: 4♠, South: 5♠, East: 6♠, South: 7♠. West: 1♣, South: 1NT, West: 2♣, South: 3NT, West: 4♣, South: 5♣, West: 6♣, South: 7♣.

ADVERTISMENT: INTERNATIONAL FUNDS July 1, 1981. Table listing various international funds and their values.

Red Smith

Sportspeak Spoken

NEW YORK — William Safire, the discoverer of the English language, devoted his weekly essay Monday to the sort of colloquialisms that Bob Lipseyte long ago christened sportspeak.

Safire concentrated on the phrase "out of left field," but he also touched on such terms as "ball park figure," "eye on the ball," "to be off base," "something on the ball," "right off the bat," "gato bat for," "to play ball," "be in there pitching" and "take a rain-check."

All these expressions have been useful to individuals writing or speaking about matters that have nothing to do with baseball, and in most cases the meaning is entirely clear. On the other hand, some widely popular examples of sportspeak are barbarisms whose use should be a misdemeanor if not a capital offense.

One is "track record," as in, "Judging from Ray Grebey's track record, the baseball strike won't be settled before Christmas."

Humans don't have track records. Horses and greyhounds do, and probably, racing cars do, but not their jockeys or the mechanical rabbit or the driver. A track record is the fastest time made on a certain track at a specified distance. Thus, the track record at Belmont for a mile and a half is 2 minutes 24 seconds, set by Secretariat in the Belmont Stakes on June 9, 1973, under 126 pounds. On Sept. 15 of the same year he set Belmont's track record of 1:45.2 for a mile and an eighth.

Writers and speakers who refer to somebody's track record today are talking about his past performances or his form.

A Game Nobody Plays

Another misbegotten term is "hardball" as in, "He's playing hardball this time," meaning that somebody is dead serious and could be a relentless adversary. There is a game called softball; in fact, there are two — slow-pitch and fast-pitch softball. There is no game called hardball. Nobody plays hardball.

Baseball and golf and polo are played with hard balls but nobody ever plays 9 innings or 18 holes or 6 chukkers of hardball.

Presumably the reasoning behind the expression, if there ever is reasoning behind these corruptions, is that you could be hit in the head with a softball and it wouldn't do serious injury, but if Nolan Ryan or Goose Gosage was wild high and inside, the batter could get dead. Hence, "It's an unappetizing usage, signifying nothing."

Special Delivery

Outside of the fact that sportspeak is used by too many who know nothing of sport, there is nothing objectionable about this subdivision of language. Indeed, some expressions deliver the message about as clearly as possible: "I couldn't get to first base with her."

"That's a low blow and I resent it." "He might have been elected if he hadn't made so many false starts."

"The Equal Rights Amendment is in the homestretch."

The Boys of Summer: Where Are They Now?

NEW YORK — They are truck drivers, construction workers, plumbers, loggers, roofers, bartenders and brick masons. They sell hardware, automobiles, car parts, boots and shoes. They sing, tell jokes, forecast the weather and perform magic tricks. They are doctors and artists. They fish, they farm.

Striking major league ballplayers are finding an assortment of ways to make ends meet, or are just keeping busy, while the country limps along without its national pastime.

Tuesday would have been payday for most major leaguers — they get paid on the 15th and 30th — and those who make the major league minimum salary of \$32,500 a year have begun to feel the pinch.

Forever?

"We're having to watch our money," says Amnesio, a rookie infielder. "My wife's still looking for work, and I might have to find something, too. I figured this thing might go a couple of weeks," he said. "Now, it seems like it's going to last forever."

Like many players, Baker has put himself on hold, hoping to ride out the strike without looking for work. But many players already have found part-time work, and some veterans are plain bored out of their skulls.

"I'm running and playing patch," says California Angel

Hinault Wins Stage, Takes Lead in Tour

PAU, France — Bernard Hinault won the seventh stage of the Tour de France cycling race Wednesday to take the overall lead in the 23-day, 3,740-kilometer event. The 26-year-old Frenchman, who won in 1978 and 1979, finished the 26.7-kilometer (16.6 miles) race against the clock from Pau in 35 minutes and 52 seconds.

Gerrie Knetemann of the Netherlands, who had worn the yellow jersey of the overall leader for four days, finished second Wednesday, three seconds behind Hinault. Philip Anderson of Australia was third, 30 seconds behind the winner.

"Sigmund Freud set the pace in interpretation of dreams."

"He thought he could sell Maidenform bras in Tahiti, but he struck out."

"What we need in this company are team players."

Let us forget how it's said for a moment and consider how it's done. Has the sport world ever witnessed a more absurd, imbecilic or ludicrous official act than the World Boxing Association's formal threat to unretire Mike Weaver as heavyweight champion for defending his title against the No. 1 contender?

The answer could be yes. Perhaps the decision by Weaver and his manager, Don Manuel, to tuck under the WBA by taking on James Tillis instead of Gerry Cooney is even barmier than the ultimatum. A Cooney bout is worth \$3 million to Weaver; a Tillis bout is worth about \$2.50, though Weaver would get \$750,000.

Taste Makes Waste

An interview published in Chicago quotes the half-champion: "Right now, if I were to decide between \$3 million and my title, I'd rather have my title."

There is, indeed, no accounting for tastes.

It should be remembered that the WBA and the World Boxing Council are moonshine and molasses, self-created, self-perpetuating nonentities responsible to nobody. Their authority is purely imaginary, yet they use it to extract substantial sums in "sanctioning fees" and they pretend that championships are prizes within their power to award or revoke.

If fighters, promoters and state commissions ignored the WBA and WBC, those ersatz governing bodies would cease to exist. If the WBA tried to lift Weaver's half-title for fighting Cooney instead of Tillis, the public would laugh at the association out of the house. Yet Weaver prefers title recognition by such a group to \$3 million. It is an insult to money.

Illinois Officials Find no Arson in 2 Racetrack Fires

CHICAGO — Official say they have found no outward signs of arson at two Illinois racetrack fires that killed 49 horses and caused \$2 million damage early Tuesday.

Leonard Beckica, of the state criminal investigations division, said a preliminary inquiry also had ruled out faulty wiring as the cause of the fire at Balmoral Park Race Track in suburban Crete. At Balmoral, 33 thoroughbreds died when fire destroyed one barn and damaged two others. Six persons sustained minor injuries fighting the blaze, police said.

Another 16 horses were killed in a barn fire in the American Legion fairgrounds at Fairbury, near Pontiac. Sheriff Robert W. Jones said a battery charger was left operating and unattended in the barn. The Fairbury horses lost included Scot Dancer, a 3-year-old pacer that won the \$100,000 Governor's Cup last year and had career earnings of \$206,467.

Mystery Canisters

This week in Henley an enterprising charity is raising funds by selling canisters of "100 percent genuine Henley atmosphere." When opened, the cans seem empty, leaving the donor to define for himself just what charm it is that characterizes Henley.

To Dave Ploss, coach of the Worcester (Mass.) Polytechnic Institute crew racing at Henley for the first time, the allure is simply the thrill of taking part. "I've been to the world championships and the Olympics, but they can't compare to Henley," said Ploss. "If we don't win a race, just being here

started driving a truck for a San Francisco firm. Cincinnati catcher Joe Nolan is working at his own construction firm and Milwaukee infielder Jim Cantner is apprenticing as a plumber.

Jack Morris of the Detroit Tigers has taken up logging in Minnesota and Mike Sadek and Dave Bergman of the Giants are working in the San Jose, Calif., roofing business of former teammate Don Carrithers.

Not-so-Great Outdoors

"I don't want to make a big deal of it," Carrithers said. "I'm just helping out some ballplayers who have asked for work. Sadek has done a great job. Randy Moffitt worked one day last week and hasn't been back."

"It's not an easy job," Carrithers said. "The best thing you can say about it is that it's outdoors."

Bob Watson of the New York Yankees and Milt Wilcox of the Tigers both have their own businesses: Watson sells boots, Wilcox peddles shoes.

Others prefer the soft shoe to the hard sell. Doug Flynn of the New York Mets, who has performed before at a Manhattan country-Western bar called

Cody's, went on a four-day singing tour with the Oak Ridge Boys. Lenny Randle, who fancies himself a stand-up comic, has been touring Seattle area night spots with his "Seattle Mariners Variety Show."

Weathermen

And Scott McGregor was the first of six Baltimore Orioles who have taken turns giving a "Bird's Eye View" of the weather on Baltimore's WBAL-TV, which is not paying the players.

"There's no grand design," says John Zarrella, WBAL's executive producer. "It's just to have a little fun. They've been a little nervous. It's not like selling underwear" — the reference being to Oriole pitcher Jim Palmer's long run as a spokesman for a men's underwear firm.

The trickiest of the show-biz boys might be the Chicago Cubs' Mike Lum, who's doing magic three nights a week at the Moon Shadow Saloon in Atlanta.

Then there are those who have turned in their spikes for a white collar. Doc Medich of the Texas Rangers is, of course, a part-time medical practitioner. Cleveland Indian relief pitcher Mike Stanton has been readying an exhibit of his artwork for display in Boston Mills, Ohio.

Pat Putnam of the Rangers has been catching shrimp off the Florida Gulf coast, and Atlanta Brave veteran Gaylord Perry has just finished chopping and spraying 115 acres of peanuts on his 600-acre farm in North Carolina.

Sammy Stewart, the Oriole pitcher, says that between weather forecasts he's enjoying his first summer off since high school. Still, he hasn't managed to entirely avoid the drudgery. "My wife's got me painting the house and digging up the garden," he said. "And she doesn't pay me for it."



Hana Mandlikova ... Her No. 2 seeding was vindicated.

U.S. Crews Again Favored at Henley

By Norman Hildes-Heim

NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE — The 142nd Henley Royal Regatta gets underway Thursday in what promises to be another chapter in the growing American participation — some say domination — of this quintessentially English event.

Last year the American entry, swelled in number by the U.S. Olympic squad, boycotting the Moscow Games, captured six of the regatta's 11 cup events, including Henley's premier event, the Grand Challenge Cup.

This year's foreign entry is down from last year's record number, but the American college and schoolboy total of 28 of the 47 overseas entries constitutes a new high in U.S. scholastic participation here.

The regatta's setting has much to do with the appeal it holds for American oarsmen. This Thames Valley village, set in the rolling Berkshire hills, is populated mostly by grazing cattle, which, during the regatta, wander down to the river to drink and gaze at the practicing crews.

The event generating the greatest interest on the part of the London press is the potential matchup of the heavyweight crews of the University of Washington and Yale in the Grand Challenge Cup. In their only previous meeting this year, Washington defeated Yale in April's San Diego Crew Classic.

Washington-Yale "People Like You" "Is it true what we hear that Stacy will be going back to America and not staying for your next match?" asked the correspondent of The Sun, one of the two prominent scandal sheets here that make The National Enquirer seem almost stuffy and responsible by comparison.

"I don't even want to waste time talking about that," said McEnroe, who reached the semifinals Tuesday by beating Johan Kriek in straight sets. "It's people like you who drive nice people away."

"Well, we've heard she's not been well," interjected the journalist from The Star, the 12-page sheet that exists for petteillance and holocaust.

"It's none of your damn business," shot back McEnroe.

Trash Route Abandoned "Wimbledon being Wimbledon, people are as much interested in your private life as in your tennis," continued The Star man, who had been released from his regular beat of inspecting Prince Charles' and Lady Diana's trash cans for any stray scoops.

"That's why it's called a private life," snapped McEnroe.

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Lloyd, Mandlikova Gain Finals

Navratilova Bows, 7-5, 4-6, 6-1; Shriver Is Blitzed

United Press International

WIMBLEDON, England — Two-time champion Chris Evert Lloyd and Hana Mandlikova scored contrasting victories Wednesday to set up a shootout for Friday's final of the Wimbledon Tennis Championships.

Lloyd, reaching the final for the fourth straight time, destroyed 18-year-old fellow-American Pam Shriver, 6-3, 6-1, in 65 minutes, while Mandlikova outlasted U.S.-based Czechoslovak ex-ite Martina Navratilova, 7-5, 4-6, 6-1, ending Navratilova's dream of winning the crown for the third time in four years.

Scores to Settle

The finalists both have personal scores to settle. Lloyd registered a semifinal victory over Mandlikova on her way to winning the U.S. Open title last year, while the 19-year-old Czech ended Lloyd's two-year undefeated record on clay in capturing the French Open title three weeks ago.

"It will be easier to beat Chris here on grass than on clay, but I know she wants to win Wimbledon so badly it's going to be very tough," said Mandlikova, who is chasing the third leg of the grand slam after winning the Australian and French Opens.

Mandlikova produced spectacular tennis in the third set of her 85-minute match against Navratilova — who had criticized her opponent's second seeding here.

Mandlikova opened with a double-fault, but two points later served the first of the six aces that highlighted her superiority over the 24-year-old left-hander. There were few long rallies, both players going for the jugular in preference to percentage shots.

After taking an evenly-contested first set by breaking her opponent's serve (at love) in the 12th game, Mandlikova seemed home when she broke through again for a 2-1 lead in the second. But Navratilova produced stunning volleys to draw even at 2-2 and got the decisive break three games later to force a decider.

It was in the third set that Mandlikova showed the form that has won her acclaim as the world's most exciting women's-circuit player. She conjured up some breathtaking shots, bombarding Navratilova with blistering backhand volleys, stinging forehand passes and delicate drops to race to a 3-1 lead.

Even when she was foot-faulted to give Navratilova break point in the fifth game, she stayed steady, responding with a great backhand

pass, followed by a hard volley and an unreturnable serve. Mandlikova then broke Navratilova's serve to go up, 5-1, and went on to ace her opponent for match point.

Commenting on the foot-fault, Mandlikova said: "I asked the linesman if it was the right or left foot that went wrong. He said it was the back foot, but I don't have a back foot. It was funny."

But Mandlikova had felt far from humorous waiting to go on court. "I was so nervous before the match that I dropped all five rackets on the floor," she said later.

"This was one of my biggest matches, but I treated Martina like any other player and not specially because she was born in my country. Early on, I chopped and chipped until I could get my game going. Later I began to hit some good passing shots."

Lloyd, who watched the Mandlikova-Navratilova match before taking Center Court for her match, said: "Hana impressed me — she has all the shots. She can be brilliant, but is moody."

"If both of us are at the top of our game there should be only one or two points in it either way. She is difficult to play because of her unpredictability and she has no obvious weaknesses. I have to be sharp and go for my passing shots when she comes in."

The 25-year-old Lloyd, who has lost to Navratilova in 1978 and 1979 and to Evonne Goolagong Cawley of Australia last year — did not want to dwell on Friday's confrontation.

"Now that the moment is here, I don't want to look ahead. It has hurt me too much in the past," said the 1974 and 1976 champion.

"Like a Dog"

Lloyd's superb baseline game brought the 5-11 Shriver to her knees as the finalist pounded the lines with a stream of passing shots.

Shriver's serve-and-volley game was left in tatters with Lloyd, finding it easy to blast winners as Shriver raced to the net behind poorly-gauged approaches.

"I served like a dog," said Shriver, who will be 19 Saturday, "and it kept getting worse. I should have done better than just win four games."

Shriver lost her service in the fifth and ninth games to present Lloyd with the opening set in 37 minutes. She managed to break Lloyd's serve in the opening game of the second set, but that proved to be her last taste of success.

Lloyd's only period of uncertainty came in the match when Shriver had to return her opponent to curtsy to the Royal Box.

Despite the easy victory, Lloyd was not completely satisfied with her game. "I would like to see a few more of my first serves to go in. My percentage is not great and it will have to improve against Hana. She will certainly come in on my second serve. That will be on the key. The rest of my game is okay."

Clean Slate

Added the favorite, who has yet to drop a set: "I still have not been extended, but that shows I am playing well."

Mandlikova, who trails Lloyd head-to-head, 5-2, said she was more excited at reaching the Wimbledon final than at having won the French Open. "When I was young, I always wished to play at Wimbledon and dreamed of reaching the final. Now I am here. It is in my head now that I can win big titles and I can win Wimbledon."

Mandlikova hopes to have her parents — her father was a sprint specialist in the 1956 Olympics and her mother was a tennis international — on hand for the final. "I telephoned them last night," she said. "They said they would be here if I won today."

Fleet Street's 'Comics' Sandbag McEnroe

By Thomas Boswell

Washington Post Service LONDON — If American pro athletes, especially those who won't talk to the press, think they have problems, they should have been at Wimbledon Tuesday and seen what happened to John McEnroe.

Two denizens of the nefarious Fleet Street "comics" whipsawed the already frazzled McEnroe into a public cursing rage by buzzing him with questions about his long-time girlfriend, Stacy Margolin. A California tennis pro, Margolin has been eliminated in singles and doubles at Wimbledon.

People Like You

"Is it true what we hear that Stacy will be going back to America and not staying for your next match?" asked the correspondent of The Sun, one of the two prominent scandal sheets here that make The National Enquirer seem almost stuffy and responsible by comparison.

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"Well, we've heard she's not been well," interjected the journalist from The Star, the 12-page sheet that exists for petteillance and holocaust.

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"Wimbledon being Wimbledon, people are as much interested in your private life as in your tennis," continued The Star man, who had been released from his regular beat of inspecting Prince Charles' and Lady Diana's trash cans for any stray scoops.

"That's why it's called a private life," snapped McEnroe.

"It's you guys who should understand why we want a private life."

The Fleet Street's badgering continued, machine-gun style, at this international press conference until McEnroe's fuse blew. "You're a disgrace to the press," said McEnroe, cursing the man. "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, mister. Go stick your head in the sand. That's where it belongs."

McEnroe stuck out the inter-

view — after other reporters had growled and threatened The Sun and The Star into submission — but he had been harpooned once more by the go-for-the-jugular journalism that gets to him every time he comes here.

"It's the headlines that bother me," says McEnroe, who has been Superstar, the Incredible Sulk and McTantrum here for years and who, on this visit, saw banner headlines screaming "The Shame of John McEnroe"

after his first-round temper tantrums.

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